

# **A Comparative Analysis of the Press Coverage of the Whaling Conflict in Australia and Japan in 2005-2006**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study aims to shed light on the differences in the way in which an environmental issue is represented by the news media in Western and non-Western society. It also examines the degree to which the previous theories of media and environment, which have been primarily based on examination of domestic news coverage of environmental issues in Western society, can account for these differences. It employs a case study approach, which comparatively examines news texts of the whaling conflict drawn from three Australian newspapers and two Japanese newspapers. The tension between these two nations dramatically increased in 2005-2006 in the wake of Japan's decision to more than double the quota of its research whaling in the Southern Ocean, and the case study is designed to analyse the newspaper articles published during this period.

The method employed in this study combines quantitative and qualitative analysis techniques to investigate four aspects of press coverage of the whaling conflict: fluctuation in the number of articles; diversity of quoted news sources; the articles' coverage of the positions put by the Australian and Japanese governments; and differences in the way in which the newspapers' views of the whaling conflict were reflected in their news reporting.

The analyses of the quantitative aspects of the news texts show that Australian newspapers carried more information about the conflict than Japanese newspapers, and they gave a similar amount of coverage to the official positions of Australia and Japan, unlike Japanese papers whose coverage mainly reiterated the arguments presented by the Japanese Government. The qualitative discourse analysis demonstrates that while the suspicion of Australian newspapers and their

nation's political elites about Japan's whaling policy was noticeably reflected in the news reports, Japanese newspapers did not show their scepticism of the anti-whaling nations' positions in their news reports in an explicit way.

The study shows how some theories of environment and media fail to give a thorough explanation of the differences in press coverage of the whaling conflict – not only the differences between Australian and Japanese papers but also the differences among the newspapers in the same nation. This suggests that the interaction of internal and external factors concerning news production, such as news culture, social perception of the issues and news companies' views on the issues, which in combination generate the diversity in news coverage of environmental issues, is more complex than commonly understood.

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## INTRODUCTION

While the news media are often perceived by the general public to represent the 'reality' of events, and media practitioners normally have their own professional norms of reporting events from an unbiased, impartial, neutral and objective viewpoint, a number of previous literatures on environment and media have suggested that the news media by contrast select, edit and package information through the news production process. A wide variety of internal factors of news industries such as the professional norms of working journalists and organisational conventions are understood to have a huge impact on news content. In addition, several external factors such as political-economic constraints of news corporations, public opinion or socio-cultural perception of the events and public concern with/interest in the events have been revealed to significantly influence media content in an interactive, complex and changeable way. Moreover, it has also been reported that the contestants of environmental issues fight over larger media coverage of their arguments and the storyline they prefer, and the 'winners' can gain coverage more favourable to them than to others. These observations have crucially contributed to the better understanding of the role of the media in the social construction of environmental issues.

On the other hand, it does need to be realised that while those observations have been primarily obtained by examination of domestic news coverage of environmental issues in Western society, it has rarely been extensively examined whether they are valid across the border between Western and non-Western societies.<sup>1</sup> However, since news production is the mutually interactive process of

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<sup>1</sup> Western and non-Western might be a crude classification, but it can still be meaningful in media studies since the relationship between media, power and society is understood to substantially vary with this

news workers and news sources who are under a strong influence from their society, the previous observations of environment and media seem in need of re-examination before being applied to environmental reporting in non-Western societies. The rapidly growing number of global environmental issues makes the significance of such cross-border study of news reporting of environmental issues even more unquestionable. Yet, virtually no intensive study tackling the question has thus far been conducted, possibly due to the language barriers and the Western-centric approach of conventional media research.

Thus, this project aims to shed light on the differences in the way in which an environmental issue is represented by the news media in Western and non-Western society, and also to examine the degree to which previous theories of media and environment can account for the differences. The project closely examines press coverage of Australian and Japanese newspapers of the whaling conflict. The whaling conflict is possibly one of the most prominent environmental conflicts vehemently contested by those against and for whaling at the international level. The International Whaling Commission, the sole universally authorised body specifically established for the international management of whaling, has been described as being at an impasse or deadlock, due to a long-lasting, emotionally charged and fruitless dispute. Australia and Japan, at the dispute's centre, have entirely different socio-cultural backgrounds and perceptions of the whaling conflict. In the case study I comparatively analyse how Australian and Japanese newspapers differently represent the conflict, with foci on their news sources, news frames and discourse. I then discuss the findings in light of previous theories of environment and media to examine the applicability of previous theories of

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classification (e.g. Curran and Park, 2000).

environment and media to environmental news in non-Western society.

This thesis develops its argument in four different stages that are expanded in individual chapters respectively. Chapter One explores previous study of news media reporting of environmental issues. I first review the literatures on the roles and social functions of environmental news, in order to gain general understanding of the interrelationship between the news media and environmental issues. Then, I provide an overview of the production process of environmental news with foci on how decisions about news values, news sources and storylines are decided and what external/internal factors make an impact on these decisions. Throughout this chapter, particular attention is paid to environmental activists and scientists, since these groups are widely recognised to play crucial roles in environmental news.

Chapter Two is devoted to the description of the design of the research method to be employed in this case study. A careful and detailed statement of the research questions is offered at the beginning of the chapter. Then, I provide the details of this particular case study approach, which is a comparative analysis of the press coverage of the whaling conflict in Australia and Japan. Circumstantial accounts are given to two key events that occurred in the conflict in 2005-2006: the first was Japan's decision to expand the scale of its research whaling in the Southern Ocean and the second was a protest action of environmental activists groups against the Japanese whaling fleet at the scene of the research whaling operation. The validity and effectiveness of the case study approach is discussed, and a brief picture of the whaling debate as a transnational environmental conflict is given. Detailed information of materials examined in the case study is also given here. Then, the chapter moves on to the literature review of methods in

media studies in order to build my own method for the case study. By integrating the ideas from these literatures, I construct a set of analyses to investigate four aspects of news coverage of the whaling conflict: fluctuation in the number of articles; diversity of quoted news sources; positions of the Australian and Japanese governments on the whaling conflict covered in the articles; and differences in the way in which newspapers' views of the whaling conflict were reflected in their news reporting.

In Chapter Three, the results generated by the method developed in Chapter Two are presented. The analysis of the number of articles demonstrates that the news value of the whaling conflict was differently appreciated by Australian and Japanese newspapers. The news source analysis shows that Japanese newspapers had stronger orientation towards their nation's official sources than Australian newspapers. It also appears that dominant news sources of every studied newspaper were different between the two studied events. The governmental positions on the whaling conflict carried in the news articles were significantly different among Australian broadsheets, Australian tabloid and Japanese newspapers. Generally Australian newspapers carried more information about the conflict than Japanese newspapers, and Australian broadsheets appear to have given a similar amount of coverage to the positions of Australia and Japan. The qualitative discourse analysis reveals that while the suspicion of Australian newspapers and their nation's political elites about Japan's whaling policy was reflected in the news reporting by the use of emotive languages, Japanese newspapers did not explicitly show their sceptical views of anti-whaling nations in their news report. These results are discussed in light of the previous literatures and theories on media reporting of environmental issues overviewed in Chapter

One, and I demonstrate that some previous findings of environment and media fail to clearly explain the differences in news coverage of the whaling conflict, not only between Australian and Japanese newspapers but also among newspapers in the same nation.

Based on the findings and discussion presented in Chapter Three, I conclude that the interaction of internal and external factors concerning news production such as organisational conventions of the news media, social perception of the issues and news companies' views on the issues, which in combination generate the diversity in news coverage of environmental issues, is more complex than has been reported. The limitations of the case study, such as the small number of analysed articles and textual analysis method, are also discussed in this chapter. Finally, I argue that the diversity in news reporting of the whaling conflict observed in the present study suggests the necessity of further case studies investigating the relationship between environment and media both at the domestic level and at the international comparative level.

# **CHAPTER ONE. THEORETICAL OVERVIEW**

## **1-1. Chapter Introduction**

This chapter aims to provide an overview of previous studies of environmental news. We are all heavily dependent on the news media for information and knowledge of the world around us, and a number of literatures have recognised the news media as a key player of the social construction process of environmental issues. It is widely perceived that media coverage of environmental issues does not necessarily reflect the objective characteristics of the issues themselves but is constructed through social practices. Needless to say, the news has its origins in real facts or events, but it needs to go through the continuous processes of the media's routine work, such as selection of news topics and news sources and editing, before it is released to the audience. And it is during the production process that a tremendous number of factors, such as professional conventions of news workers, socio-cultural background of journalists, and trends within public opinion heavily influence, or shape, the news in a complex way. In this chapter, I first review the literatures on the roles and social functions of environmental news, so as to build a theoretical base for understanding and analysing news coverage of environmental issues. Environmental activists groups and science are foci here since both are suggested to be important actors in environmental issues and their coverage. Then, I overview previous studies of how environmental news is produced. In this part particular attention is paid to three key components of the news – newsworthiness, news sources, and news stories – and these factors will be the foci of an empirical analysis later conducted in this study. At the end of the chapter, I point out questions that have not been

tackled yet but seem crucial for the better understanding of the interrelationship between news media and environmental issues. By doing so, this chapter provides the context in which an empirical analysis of the present study, a comparative analysis of the press coverage of the whaling conflict in Australia and Japan, is conducted.

## **1-2. General Overview of Environmental Reporting**

As seminal discourse analyst Teun A. van Dijk maintains, '[m]ost of our social and political knowledge and beliefs about the world derive from the dozens of news reports we read or see every day' (1991: 110); the news is a main player in the social construction of reality. The function of news as an information source for the social construction of reality is observed not only in reporting domestic events but also cross-national affairs. By watching and reading the information provided by the news media we imagine events occurring outside our nations, because we cannot normally perceive them by directly seeing, hearing or experiencing them ourselves (O'Shaughnessy and Stadler, 2005). In order to capture global environmental issues or transnational environmental conflicts in a wider view beyond national boundaries, we usually call on domestic media organisations for the information, in addition to relying on our national media to comprehend domestic environmental events. What is more, the media play an important role in a transnational conflict not only by providing the public with information about their outside world, but also by directly influencing the political elites who are involved in diplomacy between the nations concerned. In the words of Krauss (1996: 243-4), political elites rely on the media as an 'important channel' of collecting information about other nations alongside actual diplomatic

negotiations. Therefore, in transnational conflicts, the public and the political elites are both heavily dependent on their domestic media in gaining information about, and thus understanding, the opposing nation.

The news media's power of claims-making in the social construction process of environmental issues has been utilised by non-governmental organisations (NGOs). A number of literatures show that NGOs have played a key role in the history of environmental debate by highlighting and visualising environmental events or protest actions of activists so that environmental issues could enter the public or political agendas (see, for example, Hansen, 1993; Neuzil and Kovarik, 1996; Anderson, 1997; Valiante et al., 1997; Manning, 2001). In the words of Sand (2001: 42), nature conservation is one of the areas where NGOs made their 'earliest and farthest-reaching appearance in international agreements and institutions'. In addition, it is reported that NGOs contribute to establishing a common language and common world-views by framing issues, building communities and setting examples. Princen and Finger (1994: 226) insist that new ideas about international environmental politics have come from environmental lobbies and activist groups, rather than governments or designated international organisations. Anderson (1997) also maintains that the actions of NGOs on an environmental issue often raise public concern about the issue. In this respect, NGOs are not only political organisations but also 'cultural agents' (Wapner, 2002: 38) that construct the way people see themselves and their environment.

What is important here is that some environmental NGOs have made the most of the power of the news media by thoughtfully developing their media strategies, so as to turn society toward their preferred direction. For example, Greenpeace demonstrated its skilled exploitation of the media in order to arouse



public sympathy through its actions over the Brent Spar oil rig disposal in 1995 (Anderson, 2003: 123). According to Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993), there are three main reasons NGOs need to make good use of the news media. Firstly, NGOs must mobilise their constituency in part by public discourse. Though they may issue their own publications, utilising the news media in order to access the public is even more desirable given the size of readership/audience of the news media. Secondly, in order to gain recognition credible enough to make the public take their claims seriously, NGOs primarily need to receive a certain standing in news reporting of the media. Lastly, NGOs can gain public sympathy for their challenge by 'making a conflict more public' (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993: 116). Third-party sympathy can support NGOs against authorities opposing them, and it is the media that play an important role in generating the sympathy. Anderson (1997: 40) argues that it is essential for NGOs to refine their media strategies in order to successfully acquire wider support from the general public and the elite because the visibility of NGOs and the framing of issues in the media coverage will have an impact on the attitudes of the public and the elite toward the organisations. With recent progress in communication technologies, environmental NGOs have increasingly come to put more and more importance on adopting proactive approaches to the media so that they can transform their efforts of protecting the natural world more efficiently, which consequently change the way people understand the environment and thus their relationship with it (Wapner, 2002: 48).

Science is another key component of the social construction process of environmental issues. Hannigan (2006) does not hesitate to argue that most environmental issues originate from scientific observation or debate. Science

tends to be deemed to embody neutrality and absoluteness, and to be free from distortion by 'any social and subjective influences' (Hannigan, 2006: 94), and therefore it is seen as able to describe the natural environmental world in an objective way such as physical measures or statistics. Of course, science itself does not have the ability to provide either objective or unequivocal answers to environmental issues since science intrinsically includes disagreement among scientists in its process. Science is, in this respect, idealised as an authority above human interest, and as a result science is called for when people cannot reach an agreement on the conflict over environmental issues (Gregory and Miller, 1998). Such public overestimation of the potential of science gives politicians opportunities to support their standpoints by drawing upon the authority of science. As Pielke (2002) maintains, the public's blind faith in science makes politicians believe that they can have their argument regarded as based on rational truth by voters if they win science over to their side in a political conflict, therefore they manipulate scientific facts to back their argument and employ scientists favourable to them so that they can defeat their opponents. In the case of the whaling conflict, for example, it is suggested that science has been politicised and utilised so that interest groups can make the most of the uncertainty of the science of whale management (Heazle, 2004, 2006).

Since science is understood to be very convincing, media coverage of science in environmental news often has a great impact on public opinion and policy making about environmental issues; however, this does not necessarily mean that science is always given proper coverage. There have been a number of studies presenting difficulties and problems in science reporting. Despite the nature of the science community where absolute certainty hardly exists (Owens, 2002: 709), the

media tend to describe science as 'a generator of certainty' (Miller, 1999: 212), and they put science in black-and-white stories without presenting facts, proof and causal links (Pollack, 2003: 37). In addition, Nelkin (1999) observes that the news media have a tendency to represent science as 'a superior form of knowledge' (231) and sometimes describe it as 'the most important resource of the nation' (231). Scientists are also described in an extreme manner, which gives the audience an impression that they 'have some special insight into every problem' (Nelkin, 1999: 231). Consequently, as is evident in the social response to a number of environmental issues concerning everyday life, such as mad cow disease and bird flu, media reporting of science has 'a clear indirect influence on policy making' by influencing public beliefs and behaviour or by 'mediating supposed or actual public pressure to decision makers' (Miller, 1999: 222).

On the other hand, when science is controversial and contentious, professional conventions of journalists possibly cause unintended distortion of scientific coverage. One frequently cited debate surrounds the deeply permeated professionalism of journalists' neutrality, which often simply means covering both sides of the controversy. When they report a controversial scientific topic, they have difficulty in judging if it is really controversial or not, because they are not well-equipped with adequate scientific knowledge. Thus, they are prone to 'bestow credence to frivolous pronouncements and marginal debate' (Pollack, 2003: 33), or to equally evaluate a widely accepted idea and a minor opinion (Owens, 2002). In their analysis of the prestigious newspaper coverage on global warming in the US, Boykoff and Boykoff (2004) demonstrate that as the press evenly weighted the various opinions concerning how to act toward global warming, readers possibly did not perceive that the international scientific

community had already reached an agreement about it. Contrarily, journalists sometimes report an uncertain hypothesis as if it were a certain or agreed opinion among scientific communities and incite their audience to the direction they believe to be right (Weingart et al., 2000). In addition, even when reporters use credible sources such as articles from peer-reviewed scientific journals, their selection of articles and story frames can significantly reflect the preference of journalists (Antilla, 2005).

For environmental NGOs, science is not just a component of environmental issues, but a vital tool for their survival. Environmental NGOs have put a lot of effort into separating themselves from their previous reputation of lacking credibility with their messages among the public, officials and journalists. To some extent, this has been accomplished by developing their specialised knowledge of science and taking the role as an intermediary between scientists and journalists (Valiante et al., 1997; Anderson, 2003). For example, Greenpeace is known to have increased its legitimacy and authority by 'its increasing alliance with science' (Hansen, 1993: 176). In addition, it further reinforced its legitimacy by functioning as a 'shorthand signifier' for not only itself but also for everything 'environmentally conscious or friendly' (Hansen, 1993: 176). Such efforts resulted in opinion polls conducted in 1997 and 1998 showing that nearly twice as many people trusted scientists working for environmental agencies than scientists from government or industry (MORI cited in Worcester, 2000). In addition to increase their credibility in society, NGOs have developed their own media strategies so that they could compete with officials or scientists for wider media attention. One of those strategies is to take the role of communicators of specialist knowledge to the lay public. Sharma (2000: 84-5) observes that as journalists have 'an inherent

limitation' in their ability to accurately understand advanced technology, NGOs can help them to comprehend it by giving adequately briefed information. Especially in the field of science, important findings which may be concerned with crucial environmental issues are scarcely covered by general journalists because scientists normally have difficulty in presenting their ideas in an accessible language (Hannigan, 2006: 69). NGOs, then, can pick up such news items and translate them into comprehensible phrases for journalists (Hannigan, 2006: 69). Forsyth (2003: 134-41) also maintains that establishing the public norm of environmental explanation has been facilitated by the emergence of scientific networks formed by environmental organisations and the media. While some environmental NGOs, such as European marine environmental NGOs, admit that they are coming under stronger pressure to ensure the science they draw on is stable and accurate, increasingly expanding global mass communication networks indicate that NGOs' combined strategies of media, science and political lobbying will become even more effective and important in environmental movements (Richards and Heard, 2005).

### **1-3. News Production Processes in Environmental Reporting**

While the previous section overviewed existing literatures on environmental news with attention paid to its roles and social functions, in this section, I shift the focus to how the news is produced. The way the media provide us with the news is diverse depending on the news organisations and journalists, even when they are reporting the same event. Media practitioners are under internal and external constraints, which affect the news production process and thus the content of the

media products in either a long or short period. The selection of news items and news sources and the tone in media reporting vary among news organisations and journalists that tell the news. In this respect, news is the product of the conventional routines of media practitioners and organisations, in addition to reflecting the real events or issues themselves. As a result, there is variety in news coverage produced by different news organisations, and the media's intensive coverage of a particular environmental issue does not necessarily mean the issue is the biggest environmental concern of the public. A critical question for media scholars has thus been what factors affect the production of the environmental news and in what ways. What events are chosen to be items of the news? Who are used as news sources? Which information is provided to the audience? What is the tone of the coverage? Answers to these questions vary depending on a number of factors, which have been studied in a large number of previous analyses of environmental news. Below, I expand these literatures with foci on three crucial components of news production: the criteria for the selection of news items, the interaction between news sources and journalists, and the composition of news stories.

### *News Values*

Media coverage of the environment is heavily influenced by a series of decisions about which news items to cover and which story lines to carry. The media practitioners receive an enormous number of news items from various types of sources, such as organisations, groups, individuals and governments, so they need to screen the items on their coverage. Indeed, it is said that a newspaper normally uses less than 25% of potential news items (Dispensa and Brulle, 2003: 80).

Needless to say the selection is not random; rather, the media has a certain preference in selecting news items and sources to cover. According to Hannigan (2006: 84), the news media covering environmental issues are known to have a tendency to pursue events such as milestones, catastrophes, and legal/administrative happenings. He also argues that a catastrophe in particular is a favourable item for the media because it brings many human interest stories. Such stories do not need to have 'a specific news angle or reason to exist beyond [their] inherent mass appeal' (Conley and Lamble, 2006: 324). The news media's heavy reliance on events is, in addition, suggested to be partly facilitated by strong time pressure on media practitioners to meet a deadline (Hannigan, 2006: 82).

Such event-orientation of the news media is one of the main foci of the media strategies of people and organisations that hope to carry their voice on the news. So as to command larger coverage, environmental NGOs, for example, provide the news media with a wide variety of news items of high news value, such as conflict, drama, and photo opportunities. Based on her study of the media coverage on the seal plague in 1988, Anderson (1997: 147-160) asserts that an environmental event is likely to succeed in commanding intense media coverage when it contains strong human interest components, visibly appealing iconic animals, famous individuals, and possible effects upon human beings. In addition, Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993: 124) point out that the entertainment-oriented media may well cause NGOs to forego their own spokespersons because the media themselves create celebrities who are most likely to succeed in attracting public attention. Since the value of events is higher when it is reported sooner after it has occurred, timeliness can also be one of the media strategies of

environmental NGOs. In the media's 'Save Our Seals' campaign in 1988 Greenpeace succeeded in attracting considerable media attention and getting coverage of its story because it took action quickly enough to precede officials and scientists doing so, while 'scientists' lengthy research cycle' and officials' response both could not meet the pace of the news production cycle of the media (Anderson 1997: 164-5). As a consequence of the news media's event-orientation, Dunwoody and Griffin (1993: 46-7) maintain, news sources not only exercise substantial control of the process and the frames of news production, but also prevent journalists from viewing the issue in the bigger picture.

The newsworthiness of a particular event is not stable, but dynamic. It changes over time in accordance with the decreasing novelty of the event. Downs famously describes the phenomenon in which social affairs generally 'leap into sudden prominence, remain there for a short time, and then gradually fade from public attention – though still largely unresolved' as an 'issue-attention cycle' (1973: 59). That is, a social affair normally cannot keep attracting media attention. Nevertheless, he presumes that environmental issues are more likely to stably stay in prominence since they involve factors that can catch the attention of the media, such as visibility or threats. In addition, it should be realised here that every criteria of newsworthiness cannot be universal. It might be true that there are several news values which are generally appreciated by the news workers, but what is more important is to realise the diversity in newsworthiness. Newsworthiness varies depending on the characteristics of news organisations and the nations in which they are based. Galtung and Ruge (1965: 64-70) suggest that the criteria of newsworthiness vary among nations. They examine the press coverage of three foreign crises and point out twelve factors of newsworthiness:



the time-span of an event suiting the news-production cycle of the media; size of an event; clarity; cultural proximity; compatibility with audiences' pre-conceived ideas; unexpectedness; continuous and stable exposure in the media coverage; balance with other competing news items; elite nations centrality; elite people centrality; personification;<sup>2</sup> and negativity. According to Galtung and Ruge, the first eight factors in the list above are not culturally bound, and the rest of the listed factors are, at least in Western society, culturally bound.

### *News Sources*

While the selection of the news items is carried out in accordance with the newsworthiness appreciated by news organisations and workers, the selection is also significantly influenced by the way news items are presented to news workers. Understanding the interaction between media practitioners and news sources is, therefore, essential to comprehending the news production process. While the role news sources play in news reporting is today recognised as significant (Manning, 2001), it was once overlooked by the media scholars who were prone to employ media-centric approaches (e.g. Hall et al., 1978). Then, critics such as Schlesinger (1990), questioning the limits of media-centrism, called for studies exploring the interaction between the media and their news sources, and its significance became increasingly appreciated by media scholars. Today a commonly accepted view on the news is that it is the product of interaction between news sources and media practitioners. As Hannigan (2006: 80) sees newsmaking as 'a collaborative process in which journalists and their sources negotiate stories', news sources play an important role as gatekeepers of news production through their selection of

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<sup>2</sup> Galtung and Ruge explain personification as 'The more the event can be seen in personal terms, as due to the action of specific individuals, the more probable that it will become a news item' (1965: 68).

news items and packaging/presentation of the information, together with media practitioners.

News sources have various degrees of financial capital and cultural affinity to society, and they compete with one another to acquire better access to the media so as to promote their own agendas to the public through media coverage. It is widely appreciated that elites, such as social and political authorities, government departments and scientists, tend to enjoy broader access to the media in reporting environmental issues (Hannigan, 2006). Elite sources are, Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993: 121) maintain, 'granted automatic standing and can concentrate simply on the message they wish to convey'. Miller and Riechert (2000: 51-3) point to three major reasons for this: these sources have ready-packaged information to give to the media; they claim established social positions and knowledge credentials; and they are usually in a position to 'officially' regulate the access of other sources to the media at the scene of events (e.g. by setting official press conferences). On the other hand, however, there is also a contrasting view on the hegemony of elite sources. Cracknell (1993), for example, argues that environmental correspondents of news organisations are becoming not only sceptical about government sources but also critical of their capability of handling environmental news. Consequently the hegemony of elite sources has been undermined and elite sources can sometimes fail to dominate media coverage.

Environmental NGOs, as shown in the previous section, are known to have made the most of the power of the news media in their action. Nevertheless, unlike elite sources, it has been always difficult for NGOs to successfully secure adequate media attention. It is reported that NGOs do not automatically command broad media attention or get their voices carried on the news like other official

news sources such as politicians and scientists, and this, to a large extent, is due to their perceived lack of credibility as news sources (Rowell, 1996). Although environmental NGOs need to present their ideas through the media to the audience in a way that they are perceived as credible, they have basically suffered from the fact that the media have not trusted their information (Cracknell, 1993; Farrow, 2000). Admittedly, their social and political status ebbs and flows over time, with some international environmental NGOs reportedly enjoying their privileged positions of commanding media attention by publicity stunts, mass mailings, and local organising (Princen and Finger, 1994: 34). However, this does not happen naturally. A number of previous studies point out that it is rather because they have developed their media strategies so as to compete with other elite sources and to achieve satisfactory media coverage. As mentioned in the previous section, these strategies are in principle designed to meet the criteria of newsworthiness of news organisations.

These differences in the social position of news sources are important. While a number of scholars admit that environmental NGOs are key players in news reporting, we should recognise that there are a wide variety of news sources, which have different levels of perceived credibility or reliability among the public and the media. In addition, the credibility of particular environmental NGOs as a news source possibly differs in different societies or nations. That is, the interaction between the media and the NGOs varies depending on the social status of the NGOs that may, in turn, vary nationally. NGOs' ability to access news media also varies, depending heavily on the level or resources of the organisation, such as size, financial power, expertise and geographical base. Conversely, the collective property of the resources of an organisation is reflected in its perceived

credibility and thus the degree to which the media pay attention to it. This is not observed only in economic terms – Anderson (1997; 2003) refers to the significance of ‘the differing cultural competences, skills and assets possessed by news sources’ (1997: 9) as ‘cultural capital’, maintaining its significance upon determination of their credibility. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993: 120-5) also maintain that an organisation holding greater resources, professionalism, coordination and strategic planning is more likely to succeed in commanding wider and intensive media coverage. Therefore, the outcome of NGOs’ media strategies described earlier will depend on the political-economic condition and social perception of environmental NGOs. That is, the same strategy employed by different NGOs will produce different outcomes in terms of the degree to which the NGOs succeed in maximising their chance of disseminating their messages through the news media.

### *News Stories*

Journalists’ deeply permeated professional norms on writing the news are, as frequently discussed by news workers themselves and media researchers, balance and objectivity. However, it is shown that many factors influence the way journalists put news materials into news stories and therefore composing completely ‘objective’ news stories is virtually impossible (O’Shaughnessy and Stadler, 2005). Therefore, what we should pay attention to is how the news story possibly gives the readers an impression that does not exactly reflect the actual state of the news topic. Framing is a key concept here. Gitlin, in a classic definition of framing, writes:

Frames are principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of

little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters. ... Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion... (1980: 6-7)

Increasingly in recent years, researchers have recognised the important role framing plays in news reporting, in particular the way it selects and highlights certain aspects of the presented topic. Framing, Miller and Riechert (2003: 109) say, is 'an ongoing process by which ideological interpretive mechanisms are derived from competing stakeholder positions'. When employed strategically, framing not only draws perceivers' attention to particular arguments but also buries opinions unfavourable to them. For example, in their study looking at the interrelationship between public opinion and media discourse in reporting the nuclear power debate, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) show that different actors involved in the debate evolve their own frames on the basis of their individual ideologies and institutional roles. Entman explains the function of framing:

Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (1993: 52)

Tankard (2003: 96) also maintains, 'news framing can eliminate voices and weaken arguments, ... the media can frame issues in ways that favor a particular side without showing an explicit bias, and ... defining the terms of a debate takes one a long way toward winning it.' Thus, contestants in political conflicts employ framing for the purpose of winning the public over to their side (Entman, 2004: 6).

What factors, then, contribute to the selection of a particular news frame? Before thinking about this question, it is important to remember that the framing process of news production for a particular event changes over time. Four phases

of framing are identified in the study of Miller and Riechert (2003: 111-3). The first phase is the *emergence phase*, in which an event needs to have reasonable news value to be covered. Journalists focus only on the newsworthy aspects of the event, but not on the context behind the event. The second phase is the *definition/conflict phase*, in which the issue behind the event is focussed. Contenders and interest groups compete for better coverage and try to carry their arguments on the coverage. This phase is followed by the *resonance phase*, in which particular frames appear to be dominant and proponents of other frames adjust them to the dominant ones. Finally, the phase comes to the *equilibrium or resolution phase*, and one frame comes to dominate the debate and policy making concerning the event. This suggests that the decision on the news frame is made in a very complex way, depending on the factors that change over time, such as news value of the news events and political-economic and socio-cultural circumstances concerning the news events and those surrounding the news workers.

Apart from such transition of news frames over time, one commonly perceived finding about the factors behind the selection of news frames in environmental reporting is that journalists have a tendency to make a drama out of news events. An environmental issue is rarely scrutinised in its political or scientific context; rather, it tends to be represented in the news frames of conservation, civic responsibility and consumerism (Hannigan, 2006: 82-92). An environmental event is also most likely to be represented as a single dramatic image or human interest story, in particular a 'controversy and conflict' story, in order to capture the attention of audiences (Hannigan, 2006: 82-92). Hannigan also maintains that the media's event-orientation influences their way of reporting slowly progressing environmental disasters. In order to satisfy the criteria for

newsworthiness and to meet the 24-hour news-production cycle, journalists need to depict such events as a recent outcome of an individual phenomenon rather than 'the inevitable outcome of a series of political and societal decisions' (Hannigan, 2006: 84). According to Miller and Riechert (2003: 112), conflict among stakeholders with differing vested interests is a major subject of news reporting because the drama which attracts the audience is essential for the news, and the degree of conflict reflects its importance.

In addition to the media's tendency towards sensationalism, a wide variety of political-economic and socio-cultural factors are known to have a significant impact on the determination and power of the frame. Those determinants include the position of the media organisation (liberal, conservative, or intermediate), the attitude (objective or subjective) and the stance (guardian or messenger) of journalists (Dispensa and Brulle, 2003: 82). In addition, market niches and readership of the media organisation also influence the choice of frames (Anderson, 1997: 59). Financial constraints on the media organisations also significantly influence the storyline of the news. The study of Dispensa and Brulle (2003) focuses the financial aspects of news production, by observing the news as a product of the interaction of the media, advertisers and corporate owners. In their empirical study of the press coverage on global warming, they found that the interests groups who had big economic power could gain media coverage favourable to their arguments. Furthermore, the potential of a particular frame is, according to Entman, supposed to be heightened when it has adequate 'cultural resonance' and 'magnitude':

Those frames that employ more culturally resonant terms have the greatest potential for influence. They use words and images highly salient in the culture, which is to say noticeable, understandable, memorable, and

emotionally charged. Magnitude taps the prominence and repetition of the framing words and images. The more resonance and magnitude, the more likely the framing is to evoke similar thoughts and feelings in large portions of the audience. (2004: 6)

Here again it is worthwhile to look at how journalists and news sources interact in the process of determining the news frame. Dominance of the media frame is fought over not only between the contestants of environmental conflicts, but also between contestants and journalists (Hannigan, 2006: 81). Gamson and Wolfsfeld see news sources and the media as in 'the business of interpreting events' (1993: 117-8), since news sources and the media struggle over their desirable story lines for their own objectives, values and interests. Earlier, I looked at the media strategy of environmental organisations for wider coverage in the environmental news. However, commanding wider media coverage does not in itself satisfy their strategic use of the news media because events do not take shape by themselves but need to be put in story lines so as to establish their meaning in the public arena. In this respect, Cracknell (1993: 13-4) is right to the point – he maintains that while commanding wider media attention and coverage may well facilitate an organisation's success in disseminating its messages to the public, it is just one of the factors that an organisation needs to satisfy so as to successfully present itself and its messages to the public. Thus, in order for environmental NGOs to have their intended impact on the public, controlling the way the news media comprehend and represent their claims is even more crucial than simply obtaining broader attention from the media.

However, it has always been difficult for environmental NGOs to manipulate the media representation of themselves. According to Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993), while the activists of social movements try to promote frames which



reflect their views of events, journalists would prefer pre-existing and prevailing frames which suit their culture. Thus, in order to gain better coverage, NGOs have also developed media strategies for this purpose. It is also important to realise that while environmental NGOs have progressively adjusted their presentation of the news to the media's demands, they succeeded only to a certain extent. For example, while they provide journalists with pre-packaged news items satisfying the media practitioners' criteria for newsworthiness (Anderson, 1997: 35), environmental NGOs still have a great deal of difficulty controlling the media frame. Anderson (2003: 120) notes that Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace had difficulty in 'effectively framing issues in their terms' despite a significant increase in their resource base and access to the news media in recent years. Based on a comparative analysis of news reporting of different newspapers on the Brent Spar oil rig disposal, Hansen (2000) points out that claims made by environmental pressure groups such as Greenpeace were constantly covered, yet the frames and tone in which the claims were represented differed among newspapers.

## **1-4. Remaining Questions**

In the previous two sections, I overviewed the literatures on environment and media. The first of the two sections paid attention to the social function and roles of environmental news, and the other focussed on how it is produced and what tendencies or features it embraces. Throughout these two sections, previous findings on the factors behind the diversity in news coverage of environmental issues were presented, and a wide variety of factors – such as organisational conventions of news industries, the interrelationship between news sources and journalists, the nature of news events and public perception of events – were

shown to interact with one another to shape diverse news stories. However, while these findings have been virtually solely based on studies of domestic news coverage of environmental issues in Western society, their applicability to news reporting of environmental issues in non-Western society has rarely been examined. In this section, I expand this point to consider the limits of previous theories of environment and media, by drawing on Johnson's idea of 'circuit of communication' (1986) and others. I further argue the significance and necessity of comparative studies of environment and media across the border between Western and non-Western nations.

The 'circuit of communication' (Johnson, 1986) is a concept to depict the continuous process of production and consumption of culture by the media as a circle consisting of four primary phases: production of the text by journalists; the texts that transform the production process into visual or linguistic symbols; text consumption by readers; and integration of the resultant effect of the communicated information to the live culture (Figure 1-1). All these phases closely interact with each other, and factors such as conventional norms of the news media and socio-cultural conditions on the public significantly affect the continuous process of the circuit.

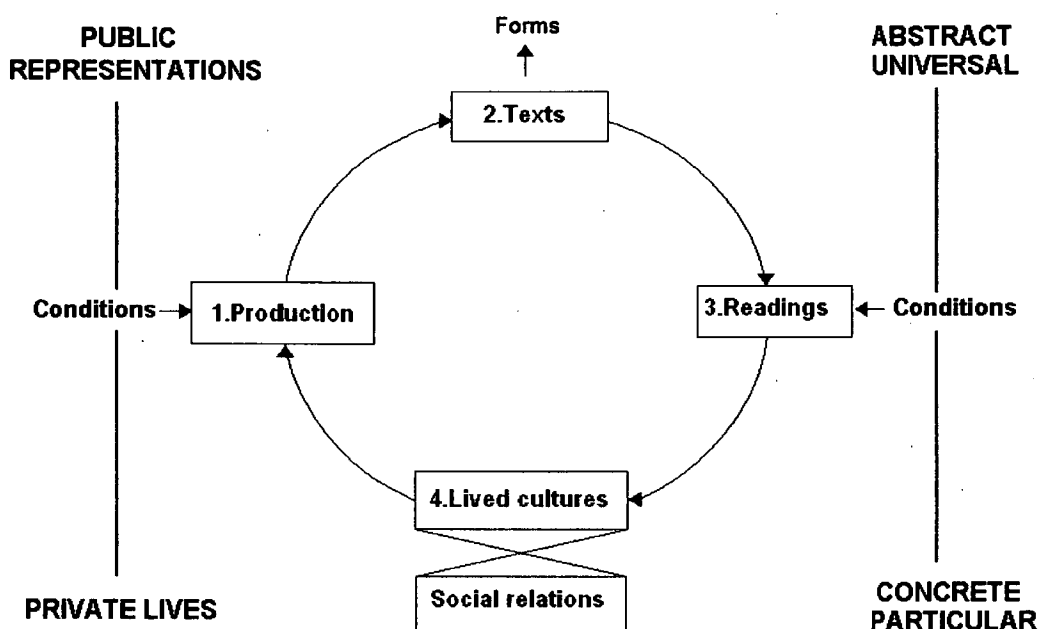


Figure 1-1. The circuit of communication (Johnson, 1986: 284).

Drawing on this idea, we can perceive domestic study of environment and media in Western society – which has been typical among previous studies (e.g. Anderson, 1993; Hansen, 1993; Neuzil and Kovarik, 1996; Lester, 2007) – as an analysis of a single cultural circuit particularly in Western society. That is, news organisations are basically under the same official regulations and share the same domestic market. Their target readers primarily belong to the same domestic culture. In addition, the contestants of environmental conflicts normally compete with each other over larger media coverage and wider support from the public. These all indicate that the production and reception processes of environmental news studied so far are generally analysed as part of a single communication circuit in particular Western nations. Given this observation, it is questionable whether, or to what extent, the findings can be generalised into theories common to Western and non-Western societies.

Several pieces of research indicate that the organisational diversity of the news media makes it hard to find theories applicable across national boundaries.

Part of the significant contributors to this difficulty are domestically shared conventions of media industries. Communication systems are, as Curran and Park (2000) maintain, still to a large extent under the strong influence of domestic social factors and therefore the media is still in many respects intranational. Krauss maintains that media organisations of a nation 'can most consistently shape the media product within a nation' (1996: 245), which to a large extent reflects the nation's shared institutional conventions of media organisations. Needless to say, as seen earlier, media practitioners need to follow the conventional rules of journalism, news culture and organisational constraints and go through strong pressure from their sponsors. In addition, they have their own values, philosophies and policies themselves. These external and internal factors have a huge impact on news coverage, and thus how reporters represent the conflict varies among news organisations and individual journalists. That is, even in the case of reporting a transnational conflict within a nation, no two journalists are likely to equally perceive and represent it. Notwithstanding this fact, however, Krauss (1996) argues such variation in media reporting among news organisations or journalists may counterbalance each other within a nation. According to him, the media representation within a nation can be regarded as an integrated voice of the nation's media when it is compared with the media representation of other countries.

Drawing on this idea, in his comparative study of media coverage between the US and Japan over the frictions between these two nations, Krauss (1996) ascribes the dissimilarities in the coverage between these two nations to the institutional differences of the media organisations in them. The major differences are found in the relative importance of each of the two nations in the media

agenda of the other country and the conventional way to achieve balanced reporting. That is to say, the US occupies a far more important position in Japanese media coverage of foreign news than the other way round, and the American media give arguments from both sides of an issue in order to present a wide variety of viewpoints while the Japanese media tend to put 'no arguments for either side' (1996: 253-4) and heavily rely on official sources. Such differences in the media agenda and convention of news reporting are referred to by Krauss as major causes for the disparity of their coverage.

The observations of Curran and Park (2000) and Krauss (1996) further indicate the importance of realising that the news media referred to as the same name in different countries may have very different *raison d'être* or play very different roles in those states. Newspapers, for example, play different roles in different nations as an industry, depending on the socio-economic conditions. As a definition, a newspaper is 'A printed publication, now usually issued daily or weekly, consisting of folded unstapled sheets and containing news, frequently with the addition of advertisements, photographs, articles, and correspondence' (Oxford English Dictionary). Therefore, such publications can be universally called newspapers, because it is the literal definition of a newspaper. Nevertheless, this does not mean newspapers are homogeneous all over the world. Rather, they are differently interpreted in different sociological contexts. The production processes of newspapers, the professional norms and news cultures vary from nation to nation. In addition, since newspaper coverage is perceived differently by readers, the impact a newspaper has on society is also diverse among nations. A number of factors, including socio-cultural background and literacy of the public, popularity and credibility of a newspaper, and language, may generate significant

differences in the social function of a newspaper among states. That is, the role of a particular type of media varies depending on the nation.

In addition to the domestically shared conventions and characteristics of the media organisations, environmental reporting is substantially affected by the socio-cultural background of the news topic itself. Anderson (1997: 36) maintains that 'the social construction of news must be situated within a wider theory of culture and society', and socio-cultural perception of environmental conflicts plays a pivotal role in news production and news perception. And there are several literatures suggesting the significant influence of cultural differences upon shaping the news. Chapman (2000) observes that in India the Western media has failed to efficiently disseminate their idea of global environmental issues across the cultural differences between Western society and a local Indian society. While acknowledging the growing influx and consequent influence of Western culture and ideas in India, he contends that the public perception of environmental issues in India is still to a significant extent different to that of Western society. As long as people cultivate their sense of nature through their daily activities or experiences which are not westernised, Chapman argues, the Western media should not thoughtlessly believe that they should apply their perspectives of environmental issues to non-Western societies. Blond (2002: 21-2) also suggests the press reporting of cloning was different among the European Union nations in terms of their tones and perspectives on it, possibly reflecting national cultures, religions and history. These observations indicate that the communication circuit concerning a particular environmental event may well be differently developed depending on how the event is socio-culturally perceived by the society. Therefore, it is suggested that media coverage of a particular environmental event in two

societies that have largely different socio-cultural backgrounds to perceive the event – such as Western and non-Western societies – would show a substantial disparity.

Given the observations above, it can be concluded that existing theories of news reporting of environmental issues does not seem applicable to non-Western society. The communication circuits that have previously been examined are of Western nations, and they may be to a large extent distinct from the communication circuits of non-Western nations in terms of the characteristics of the media industries such as organisational conventions and external influential factors such as socio-cultural background of environmental issues. That is, previous studies of environment and media are heavily influenced by factors that are found in the communication circuits in Western society but not in non-Western society. Therefore, the previously established theories of environment and media need to be re-examined in light of observations of the communication circuits of non-Western society. Not only the differences in the domestically shared institutional conventions of media organisations between the opposing countries but also the diversity of socio-cultural perception of environmental conflicts need to be comparatively examined between Western and non-Western societies.

To this end, the study of environment and media should lay more emphasis on transnational comparative examination of media coverage of environmental conflicts contested across the borders between Western and non-Western societies. Unlike domestic examination of news coverage of environmental conflicts in a single Western nation, transnational examination can contrast the communication circuits about the same environmental conflict among concerned nations, namely between Western and non-Western nations. Thus, it can directly compare how

differently the factors such as domestically shared media cultures and socio-cultural perception of the environmental conflict contribute to news production in these two societies. Do the news media of concerned nations of a transnational environmental conflict pay similar amounts of attention to the issue? Do they support their own nation's arguments? Do they equally use news sources from both sides of the conflicts? How do the differences in organisational conventions of the media contribute to the differences in news coverage? Can we see variations on the correlation between the public perception of the issue and media coverage? All these questions are essential to understand how the communication circuits concerning the same transnational environmental conflict are differently shaped in Western and non-Western societies. By answering those questions, therefore, researchers can reveal what is common to the communication circuits of environmental conflicts in Western and non-Western societies, and also what is unique to either Western society or non-Western society.

Notable among the small number of studies that tackle the cross-national diversity of communication circuits is the extensive work of Chapman et al. (1997). Drawing on a multi-faceted approach that includes analyses of producers and receivers of news and its content, Chapman and his colleagues comparatively investigate the interaction of the media, environment and development in the UK and India. In so doing they illuminate differing roles of the news media in the social construction of the idea of environment in these two nations and further in the persistence of the division between developed and developing nations. However, virtually no literature that extensively examines news reporting of environment at the international comparative level has followed the study of Chapman et al. (1997). This is possibly due to language barriers and also the



conventional tendency of media studies towards Western society. Nevertheless, taking the universal concern about the number of cross-border environmental conflicts rapidly increasing (Forsyth, 2003; Scholte, 2005) into consideration, the news media's influence upon national policy and public opinion on transnational environmental issues seems to be becoming more important. This further increases the importance and urgency of the re-examination of current theories of environmental reporting across the border between Western and non-Western societies.

In order to approach this crucial question, this project draws on the case of the whaling conflict between Australia and Japan – one of the most prominent environmental conflicts contested at the international level. The limitations of the theories based on domestic study of environment and media in Western society are drawn out through a comparative examination of the press coverage of the whaling conflict in Western and non-Western nations, namely Australia and Japan.

## **CHAPTER TWO. RESEARCH DESIGN AND BACKGROUND**

### **2-1. Chapter Introduction**

In the previous chapter, I asked how relevant those theories of environment and media, which are established primarily on domestic examination of news coverage of environmental issues in Western societies, are to understanding better news reporting on environmental issues in non-Western societies. I also observed that studies of media reporting of transnational environmental conflicts across the boundary between Western and non-Western societies are more appropriate to this end. This project examines this argument by employing a case study approach that comparatively analyses newspaper coverage of the whaling conflict between Australia and Japan. In this chapter, I expand on previous literatures in order to develop suitable methods for the analysis. I first detail the research question at the centre of the present project. The following section provides background information of the case study, which describes the validity of the case to be examined from three points of view: reasons the whaling conflict has been chosen as a transnational environmental conflict for this project; reasons two particular events concerning whaling are selected for the analysis; and reasons five particular newspapers amongst a wide range are the target of the empirical analysis. In the last section, established methods in media studies are reviewed and discussed in detail. The section describes how selected methods are combined to build an original approach suitable for the purpose of the research objective, which combines quantitative and qualitative analysis techniques to investigate four aspects of press coverage of the whaling conflict: fluctuation in the number

of articles; diversity of quoted news sources; the articles' coverage of the positions put by the Australian and Japanese governments; and differences in the way in which the newspapers' views of the whaling conflict were reflected in their news reporting.

## **2-2. Research Question**

In Chapter One, I outlined the process of news production drawing on previous literatures on environment and media in Western society, and observed that the process is understood to be heavily affected by factors including organisational conventions of the news media and socio-cultural background of the news topic. I also reviewed the way these factors are reflected in news coverage with foci on three primary components of the news, namely news values, news sources and news stories. As noted, the most significant remaining question about these observations is whether or to what extent those pre-existing observations can be applied to media reporting of environmental issues in non-Western society. In order to tackle this question, comparative examination of news coverage of a transnational environmental conflict across the border between Western and non-Western nations attempts to find the answers to the following question: Do the differences between the concerned Western and non-Western nations in news coverage of a transnational environmental conflict reflect the differences in the socio-cultural background of the conflict in the way described in previous literatures? In this way, I hope to provide environmental media studies with new knowledge about the differences in news media reporting of environmental conflicts between Western and non-Western societies.

It is first necessary to accurately comprehend how the transnational

environmental conflict is differently represented by the news media in the concerned nations. I approach this point with focus on the three primary components of news production, which are news values, news sources and news stories. Specifically, I inquire into the differences between the concerned nations of the transnational environmental conflict in those three components respectively: news values attached by news workers to the environmental conflict; people and organisations acknowledged in news coverage; and explanations and frames given to reports of the conflict. Then, the observed variations are examined in light of the differences between the Western and non-Western nations and the socio-cultural background of the environmental conflict, in order to compare the way news coverage reflects the socio-cultural background of the conflict between the Western and non-Western nations. Finally, findings of the comparison are critically discussed to explore whether, or to what extent, previous theories of environment and media can account for the findings.

## **2-3. Materials for the Case Study<sup>3</sup>**

In the following two sections, I provide the context of the research design. In order to give an appropriate answer to the research question provided in 2-2, materials for the case study need to be properly chosen. The transnational environmental conflict examined in the case study is the whaling conflict. What I refer to by the ‘whaling conflict’ is, in short, an international dispute between nations in favour of whaling and against whaling, and it centres on the legal,

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<sup>3</sup> In this section, the style of in-text citation of media releases is a combination of the releasing organisation and the date. For example, “Greenpeace 20051118” means “the media release from the Greenpeace on 18 November 2005”. The abbreviations for the governmental organisations that appear in this section are as follows: DEH for the Department of the Environment and Heritage; ICR for the Institute of Cetacean Research; and JFA for Japan Fisheries Agency.

scientific and ethical rationality of both commercial and research whaling. It is one of the most prominent environmental conflicts disputed internationally. Among the states concerned with the conflict, Australia and Japan in particular vehemently criticise each other over their policy on the resumption of commercial whaling, and also over the rationale and legitimacy of Japan's research whaling. The tension between these two nations dramatically increased in 2005-2006 in the wake of Japan's decision to more than double the quota of its research whaling in the Southern Ocean, and the case study is designed to analyse the newspaper articles published during this period. Two key events during this period are the foci of the study: one is the 57th annual conference of the International Whaling Commission in May and June 2005; and the other is the protest actions of environmental activists groups against the Japanese whaling fleet in the Southern Ocean in December 2005 and January 2006. Among a wide variety of mediums such as TV, internet and magazines, three Australian newspapers and two Japanese newspapers are chosen for a comparative analysis. Below, I describe the background of these research materials, which also draw on previous literatures, official documents and online resources about the whaling conflict and about newspaper companies, to justify their selection.

### ***The Whaling Conflict***

The whaling conflict is a controversy fought over at the international governmental level between two parties; one seeks a total and permanent ban on any sort of whaling, and the other seeks sustainable use of whale resources. The main institutional field of the controversy is the International Whaling Commission (IWC), which is today the sole internationally authorised

organisation concerned with whaling management. It was established in 1946 in accordance with the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling, so as to implement proper management of whale resources. Thereafter, primarily due to the depletion of the whale stock and decline in the industrial value of whaling, the main policy of the IWC moved from the proper management of whale resources to the rigid conservation of whales.<sup>4</sup> The IWC adopted a blanket moratorium on commercial whaling in 1982 and it came into effect in 1986. While the moratorium was adopted as a temporary measure to conserve whale stocks until scientific methods to estimate sustainable quotas were established, anti-whaling nations gradually changed their position towards a permanent ban on whaling (Aron et al., 2000). When its regular annual conference was held at Ulsan, South Korea, in June 2005, it had 57 member nations, including 29 that were anti-whaling and 23 that were pro-whaling, according to results of the vote on a scheme that was a prerequisite for the resumption of commercial whaling.

Given that the objective of this project is to examine news reporting of transnational environmental issues in light of previous studies on environment and the media, the whaling conflict seems ideal as a topic of empirical study, not only because it is a seminal transnational environmental controversy but also because the news media are known to have played an important role in its social construction. There are a number of literatures that focus on environmental NGOs' strategic use of the news media and its impact on the social construction process

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<sup>4</sup> The circumstances surrounding whales and whaling were in great transition in the 1960s and the 1970s. The progress of audio-visual technologies enabled the production of films featuring the life of whales which consequently encouraged the anthropomorphism of them. This tide, together with growing consciousness about ecological issues, enhanced the social status of whales from marine resources into icons of environmental conservation. The concurrent collapse of the economic value of the whaling industry, furthermore, helped whaling countries to cease whaling. In the wake of these events, the international management of whale resources, which had been dominated by the short-term interests of the whaling industry and had failed the proper management of whale stocks, shifted to sustainable use grounded on science. It went further to pursue a total ban on commercial whaling for moral and ethical reasons.

of the anti-whaling norm in Western society (Kalland and Moeran, 1992; Wapner, 1996; DeLuca, 1999; Epstein, 2003; Mulvaney, 2003; Weyler, 2004). In June 1975, Greenpeace activists tried to disrupt whaling operations by the Russian whaling fleet in the Pacific Ocean. Two activists on a rubber boat put themselves between a pod of whales and a whaling vessel, in order to protect whales by forming a human shield. The Russian whalers fired a harpoon just over the heads of the activists and killed a whale. The point here is not that the activists could not save a whale at the scene, but that they could film the whole event including the human shield and the plight of a dying sperm whale. The film was disseminated all over the world, and led to an image of the whale as 'a symbol of environmental activism' (Roman, 2006: 166). In the late 1970s and 1980s, other powerful Western environmental NGOs such as Friends of the Earth also made the most of the media in order to command wide international attention, and succeeded in gaining support for their anti-whaling campaigns predominantly from Western nations (Keck and Sikkink, 1998: 121-63; DeLuca, 1999; Wapner, 2002: 48; Epstein, 2003: 314). Today, the media are accused of improper coverage on whaling that prevents mutual understanding of anti- and pro-whaling allies (Heazle quoted in McCurry, 2006: 48).

The two nations featured in the present study – Australia and Japan – are today widely perceived as leading nations of the anti- and pro-whaling allies respectively. The first nation that pushed the IWC towards anti-whaling in the 1970s was the US (Yamashita, 2004), but Australia has enacted a series of laws to reinforce its position of anti-whaling since the late 1970s, and today has a strong

policy of protection and conservation of whales.<sup>5</sup> By contrast, Japan was reluctant to accept the blanket moratorium, and has been striving to lift the moratorium since it was adopted so that it can resume commercial whaling. Japan's primary stance on whaling is that whale resources can be utilised in a sustainable manner, and that anti-whaling nations will admit this when it presents adequate scientific data required for proper management of the whale stock (Morishita, 2002). As a consequence, the government officials of Australia and Japan view the other nation as a leading nation of anti- or pro-whaling allies (Komatsu, 2001; Morishita, 2002; Ohmagari, 2002).

Cultural perception of whales and whaling is also noticeably different between these two nations. Opinion polls and social surveys have suggested that Japanese people have distinctively different views on whaling from those of Western anti-whaling societies.<sup>6</sup> It is suggested that the Japanese's unique view on whales is deeply rooted in its culture and social conventions surrounding

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<sup>5</sup> In the late 1970s, Australia was the only commercial whaling country among English-speaking countries, as a result of the halt of commercial whaling of other nations, including the UK in 1963, New Zealand in 1963, the US in 1972, Canada in 1973 and the Republic of South Africa in 1976. Greenpeace began its anti-whaling campaign in Australia in 1977, which led to a significant increase in public concern about the ethical/environmental aspects of whaling. Moreover, in December 1978, Australian MP Sir Sydney Frost recommended that the government of Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser should end whaling and instead pursue 'a policy of opposition to whaling' (DEH 20031017) with bipartisan support. This event is widely considered as 'a landmark' in the history of the anti-whaling tide (Stoett, 1997: 67-8). The Fraser Government followed the recommendation in 1979, and put an anti-whaling policy with a heavy focus on 'working towards the international protection and conservation of whales' (DEH website International Protection of Whales <http://www.environment.gov.au/coasts/species/cetaceans/whale-protection/index.html>). In the following year the government passed the Whale Protection Act, which banned the slaughter of cetaceans in Australian waters and import of all whale products. Then, the newly elected Howard Government, whose policy was 'to seek to turn the current international moratorium into a permanent ban on all commercial whaling' (DEH 19960930), established a National Task Force on Whaling in 1996, with an expectation that it would 'consolidate Australia's position as a world leader in whale conservation' (DEH 19960930). The taskforce examined the history and ongoing status of commercial whaling, and also sought the options which were 'most likely to achieve a permanent international ban on commercial whaling' (DEH 19970912). The task force was followed by the official launch of the Action Plan for Australian Cetaceans for the purpose of the reinforcement of the protection of the cetaceans in the Australian waters in 1997, in which the Australian government clarified its long-term strategy to achieve a permanent ban on commercial whaling in accordance with the recommendation of the report. Furthermore, in 1999, the government passed the Environmental Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act, which legislated for the firmer protection of all cetaceans in Australian waters. This replaced the Whale Protection Act adopted in 1980, and established the Australian Whale Sanctuary.

<sup>6</sup> The Japanese government conducted a survey of public opinion in December 2001, and Asahi Shimbun also took public opinion surveys in 1993 and 2002. Their results are available at <http://www8.cao.go.jp/survey/h13/h13-hogei/index.html>.



whales (Danaher, 2004; Darby, 2007). Danaher (2002) observes that although anti-whaling nations and Japan both aim to conserve whales, there is a significant gulf between those two sides in terms of how they approach the aim.<sup>7</sup>

Overall, the whaling conflict can be regarded as one of the most prominent transnational environmental issues in which the news media play a pivotal role, and therefore as suitable for the cross-border examination of its news coverage. Nevertheless, no research tackling the relationship between the news media and the whaling conflict has been conducted in an international comparative context so far.

### ***IWC57 and JARPA II***

The case study looks at two prominent events amongst the key incidents of the whaling conflict. The first, the 57th annual conference of the IWC (referred to as IWC57 in the rest of this thesis), was held in May and June 2005 in Ulsan, South Korea. It was significantly important compared to other annual conferences of the IWC held in recent years. One of the main reasons was that Japan's plan to expand its research whaling was on the agenda. In May that year, Japan completed its 18-year research whaling programme in Antarctica, namely Japan's Whale Research Program under Special Permit in the Antarctic (JARPA),<sup>8</sup> and

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<sup>7</sup> Memorial services for hunted whales, increasing popularity of whale watching industries and enthusiasm towards the rescue of beached whales in Japan, according to Danaher (2002), all indicate that the affinity of Japanese people with whales is not necessarily less than that of the people of anti-whaling nations. The Buddhist view of life and death, and the respect for nature enables the Japanese to hold those seemingly contradictory behaviours – killing and admiring whales – as compatible, he argues.

<sup>8</sup> Japan began full-scale scientific whaling in the Southern Ocean in the year after the moratorium came into effect in 1986, in order to provide the required data for the development of the management plan, which was still to be established. Since then, Japan has been conducting different types of research whaling. It has provided the scientific committee of the International Whaling Commission with the data supporting the view that certain species of whales were abundant enough for limited commercial whaling in the Southern Ocean, and the data required for the establishment of the management plan. Despite these efforts, the moratorium on commercial whaling has not been lifted. Another of Japan's research whaling programmes is conducted in the Pacific Ocean, and is known as JARPN (the Japanese Whale Research Program under Special Permit in the western North Pacific). It was launched in 1994. Both JARPA and JARPN are conducted in effect by the

announced that it would renew the research programme as JARPA II, more than doubling the scale of the lethal sampling.<sup>9</sup> This led to strong opposition from the anti-whaling nations, particularly Australia. Immediately after Japan's research proposal appeared, Australia took a firm stance against Japan's scientific whaling, with its Minister for the Environment and Heritage Senator Ian Campbell repeatedly and vehemently criticising it.<sup>10</sup> JARPA II was intensively discussed in IWC57, and Australia argued heatedly with Japan. In the conference, Australia proposed a resolution calling for the cancellation of JARPA II and won majority.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, Japan dismissed the resolution as not scientific but political, and it declared that it would conduct the research whaling as it had proposed (JFA 20050624).<sup>12</sup> In addition to the controversies around Japan's proposal for JARPA II, IWC57 was salient because the majority of the IWC, which anti- and pro-whaling allies had intensely fought over, could have become the pro-whaling

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Institute of Cetacean Research, which is authorised and instructed by the Fisheries Agency of the Government of Japan.

<sup>9</sup> According to a research report entitled *JARPA II* published by the Government of Japan in 2005, the findings of JARPA suggested that further research was required in order to build the scientific basis for the comprehension of whale ecology and for the proper management of whale stocks. The proposal for the new research, namely JARPA II, indicated that the maximum quotas of minke whales would be more than doubled, and the target species would not be restricted to minke whales but include vulnerable whale species. JARPA II set maximum quotas of 935 minke whales and 10 humpback whales for its first two years of feasibility research, and the same number of minke, 50 humpbacks and 50 fins for the following full-scale research. Humpback and fin whales are classified as vulnerable and endangered species respectively by the World Conservation Union (Reeves et al., 2003). According to this plan, Japan's annual catch of whales would be 'more than half the total cumulative catches for scientific research by all nations in the past half-century' (Gales et al., 2005).

<sup>10</sup> Federal Environment Minister Campbell stated, 'Australia will continue to pursue a permanent global ban on all forms of commercial and scientific whaling' (DEH 20050413), and consulted with key ministers of IWC member nations to ask for the support of Australia's pro-conservation position before IWC57 was held (DEH 20050529).

<sup>11</sup> The resolution was passed by a vote of 30 to 27 with 1 abstention. Federal Environment Minister Campbell welcomed the result as 'a massive victory for whale conservation' (DEH 20050622) and warned Japan that the non-fulfilment of the resolution would lead to significant damage to Japan's diplomatic status and also to the credibility of the IWC.

<sup>12</sup> Australia kept putting pressure on Japan to give up JARPA II after the IWC meeting. On 8 November 2005, which was the day the Japanese whaling fleet departed Japan, Ian Campbell issued an official statement calling on Japan to relinquish JARPA II. On the same day, Australia, together with New Zealand, South Africa, Spain and 10 Latin American nations, signed the Buenos Aires Declaration, which stated support for the continuation of the current moratorium on commercial whaling and also condemned the IWC's special permission for scientific whaling. In addition, in January 2006, a delegation from 17 anti-whaling nations including Australia was led by Brazil to visit the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and the Japan Fisheries Agency, in order to denounce JARPA II. Japan ignored all of these claims, and conducted the first seasonal research of JARPA II as scheduled.

side for the first time after the blanket moratorium had been adopted.

The second event to be examined in the case study is the collision between Japan's whaling fleet and Western anti-whaling environmental groups, Greenpeace and Sea Shepherd, in the Southern Ocean. For the first expedition of JARPA II, the Japanese fleet was dispatched to the Southern Ocean in November 2005, and carried out research there through December to January 2006. In response to this, Greenpeace sent two ships, *Esperanza* and *Arctic Sunrise*, to the Southern Ocean, in order to 'defend the whales and call for an immediate end to the hunt' (Greenpeace 20051118). They found the Japanese whaling fleet conducting research in the area on 21 December 2005, and began a protest action that included physical interference such as 'placing themselves between the harpoon and the whale' (Greenpeace 20060107) and spraying protest slogans on the whaling vessels. In response to this, the Institute of Cetacean Research sent an open letter to Greenpeace Japan, dismissing the anti-whaling campaign of Greenpeace as an 'illegal and dangerous hindrance' and 'nothing but an opinionated display of self-righteousness' (ICR 20051227), and also requesting that Greenpeace immediately halt protest action. Greenpeace ignored the message, and continued with the campaign. On 8 January 2006, the Greenpeace ship *Arctic Sunrise* and Japanese whaling vessel *Nisshin-Maru* collided. They both argued that they had been rammed by the other.<sup>13</sup> A radical environmental protest group

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<sup>13</sup> Greenpeace reported: '...the Greenpeace ship MY *Arctic Sunrise* was rammed by the *Nisshin Maru*, the factory ship of the Fisheries Agency of Japan whaling fleet. ...the Greenpeace expedition leader Shane Rattenbury said: "There is no way to describe this as anything but a deliberate ramming which placed the safety of our ship and the lives of its crew in severe danger." ...Straight after the ramming the *Nisshin Maru* began to steam away from the scene. Both the *Arctic Sunrise* and the *Esperanza* are in pursuit with every intention of continuing to peacefully protest the hunt. "...No amount of bullying or intimidation will prevent us from defending the whales, nor from broadcasting images of the kills to the world," said Rattenbury' (Greenpeace 20060108). The ICR announced: '...the Greenpeace vessel deliberately rammed the Japanese research vessel, the *Nisshin-Maru* in the Antarctic today while it was attempting to transfer cargo. ICR Director-General Hiroshi Hatanaka said..."We believe they deliberately rammed our vessel to prevent it from transferring cargo'. (ICR 20060108) They both insisted that they had support of video and maritime law

Sea Shepherd Conservation Society deliberately rammed its vessel against the Japanese whaling supply ship to clearly show its opposition to whaling (Sea Shepherd 20060108). Despite these protest actions, Japanese whalers did not renounce the whaling but continued it as scheduled.<sup>14</sup>

These two events are not only prominent occurrences in the whaling conflict in recent years, but also carry two different characteristics of events concerning environmental issues. IWC57 is an international official event, which is significant in terms of the international management of the environment and has core players of political elites and governmental officers. On the other hand, the collision between anti-whaling environmental activists and Japanese whalers is an environmental protest action that itself does not involve official significance in international environmental management. However, according to previous theories on environmental journalism, it contains many newsworthy factors highly valued by news workers, such as visibility and human interest. Thus, these two events are selected as targets of the case study.

### *Target Newspapers*

The case study comparatively looks at three Australian newspapers and two Japanese newspapers with foci on their coverage of the whaling conflict. I choose

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experts.

<sup>14</sup> The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) disclosed in the 6 March 2006 Media Watch programme that Channel Seven had funded Sea Shepherd in exchange for an exclusive documentary image of the anti-whaling protest action. Channel Seven's News Director Chris Willis revealed in the mail-interview conducted by the ABC that Channel Seven had provided equipment for the transmission of 'exclusive coverage of a newsworthy event' from the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society's vessel protesting Japan's whaling in the Southern Ocean. On 10 January 2006, in its Morning News programme Channel Seven broadcast the scene of the collision between the vessels of Japanese whalers and the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society. Japan claimed that Channel Seven had contributed to 'putting lives at risk in the Southern Ocean...by funding the terrorist organisation Sea Shepherd' (JWA 20060314). The president of the Japan Whaling Association, Keiichi Nakajima, also said, 'Channel Seven's actions cross the ethical line and takes them from covering the news to making the news' (ibid.). Sea Shepherd did not make any comments on the claim.

newspapers over other news mediums as a subject of the comparative analysis for two reasons. Firstly, while the internet has been drastically expanding in the last decade and television keeps its leading position of the mass media, the newspaper still plays a crucial role in the everyday life in Australia and Japan (McCargo, 2003; Craig, 2004). The other reason is the practicality of the newspaper as material for a comparative analysis. Unlike many other types of news media such as television and radio, the newspaper allows researchers to access intact record in the archives or electronic databases, which is essential for this study.

When selecting newspapers, reasonable attention should be paid to widely covering each nation's press since even in the same nation differences in 'personality' (Miller, 1999: 216) of news organisations create variations in interest and agendas. Dynamics and pressures surrounding newspapers today differ to some extent between Australia and Japan, and newspapers in each nation under different situations have different characteristics. As mentioned in the previous chapter, such differences possibly cause the distinction in the coverage between those countries, or even among newspapers in each country. Thus, it is important that the broad features and differences of newspapers of Australia and Japan are identified both internationally and domestically. In accordance with this observations, the conditions of newspaper including circulation, readership, ownership, publication type (broadsheet or tabloid) and geographic condition (national or local) are considered upon selection. As a result, the *Australian*, the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Herald Sun* are chosen to represent the Australian press; and the *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* were selected among Japanese newspapers (Table 3-1).

nation	Australia			Japan	
newspaper	<i>Australian</i>	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>Herald Sun</i>	<i>Asahi Shimbun</i>	<i>Yomiuri Shimbun</i>
circulation(Mon-Fri)	134,610	212,300	554,000	8,121,988	10,031,848
circulation(Sat)	298,107	360,000	554,000	8,121,988	10,031,848
circulation(Sun)	-	-	618,000	8,121,988	10,031,848
readership(Mon-Fri)	435,000	875,000	1,520,000	-	-
readership(Sat)	828,000	1,173,000	1,520,000	-	-
readership(Sun)	-	-	1,600,000	-	-
proprietor	News Limited	Fairfax	News Limited	Asahi Shimbun	Yomiuri Shimbun
foundation	1964	1831	1990 <sup>15</sup>	1879	1874
size	broadsheet	broadsheet	tabloid	broadsheet	broadsheet
city	national	Sydney	Melbourne	national	national

Table 3-1. Comparison of newspapers<sup>16</sup>.

The *Australian* is chosen since it is the only national newspaper in Australia.<sup>17</sup> The *Sydney Morning Herald* is, as the name indicates, a Sydney based broadsheet newspaper. Unlike the *Australian* and the *Herald Sun*, which are owned by Rupert Murdoch's News Limited, the *Sydney Morning Herald* is owned by Fairfax, Australia's second largest newspaper company. I choose the *Herald Sun* to be representative of tabloid newspapers in Australia, because it has a weekday circulation of 554,000, and a readership of about 1.6 million, which is the largest of all Australian newspapers. As for Japanese newspapers, the *Asahi Shimbun* has the second largest circulation in Japan (and the world), and it is widely perceived to be the most influential newspaper (Krauss and Lambert, 2002). The *Yomiuri Shimbun* takes pride in its largest circulation in both Japan and the world, selling more than ten million copies.

<sup>15</sup> Two older papers, an afternoon daily the *Herald* and a morning daily the *Sun News-Pictorial* were combined into the *Herald Sun* in 1990.

<sup>16</sup> Data were retrieved from online resources:

<http://newsmedianet.com.au/home/titles/title/Demographics.jsp?titleid=5> for the *Australian*;

<http://heraldadcentre.fairfax.com.au/adcentre/newspapers/smh/audcirc.html> for the *Sydney Morning Herald*;

<http://www.news.com.au/heraldsun/aboutus> for the *Herald Sun*;

<http://www.asahi.com/shimbun/honsya/index.html> for the *Asahi Shimbun*; and

<http://info.yomiuri.co.jp/company> for the *Yomiuri Shimbun*.

<sup>17</sup> The *Australian Financial Review* is also national, but it is not considered because it is business-focussed.

## **2-4. Methods: Combined Comparative Analyses**

In the previous section, I described the materials used for the comparative analysis of the press coverage between Australia and Japan. In this section, I explicate the methods used in the analysis. The present study employs both quantitative and qualitative methods to analyse the research materials, since it is strongly recommended that researchers of media texts should not employ only quantitative or qualitative methods, but should adopt both in combination. For example, Hansen et al. argue that the choice and combination of methods should be done so as to ensure the analysis is multifaceted:

...good research usually benefits from the use of a combination of methods. In other words, researchers should not only consider which is the most appropriate method for the study of their chosen topic or problem but also what combination of research methods will produce a better and deeper understanding of it; survey research can often usefully be combined with, and enhanced by, focus group research; content analysis with audience surveys or group discussions; participant observation with content analysis; and so on. The aim should always be to choose those methods, or combinations of methods, which can light up the most angles and dimensions of what are invariably multidimensional and complex processes and phenomena. (1998: 1-2)

Deacon et al. (1999: 114) also support this view, saying different methods have different advantages so they can be employed according to the stages and focuses of the research. In addition, it is suggested that quantitative analysis is best complemented by forms of qualitative text analyses. Unlike content analysis, which focuses on quantitatively countable items in texts, qualitative analysis assumes 'the concealed or latent meanings' such as 'links and relationships between elements in the text and ... what is missing or taken for granted' to be the most significant (McQuail, 1994: 276). That is, the fundamental assumptions of content analysis and qualitative analysis are contrasting. Therefore, each of these

two analytical methods can mutually compensate the weakness of the other. Hansen et al. argue that content analysis can increase the credibility and integrity of the research by being adopted together with other qualitative approaches:

...content analysis is and should be enriched by the theoretical framework offered by other more qualitative approaches, while bringing to these a methodological rigour, prescriptions for use, and systematicity rarely found in many of the more qualitative approaches. Moreover, in contrast to many 'qualitative'/'interpretative' approaches, content analysis, because it follows clearly articulated rules and procedures, lays open to scrutiny the means by which textual meaning is dissected and examined. (1998: 91)

Following these observations, I have designed a research methodology that will take full advantage of the strength of both quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Specifically, I combine three quantitative analyses and a qualitative analysis to investigate four aspects of press coverage of the whaling conflict. Each of the three quantitative analyses is conducted to look at the three crucial components of news production examined in 1-3 – news values, news sources and news stories – respectively. The first analysis explores the newsworthiness of the whaling conflict, by quantifying the fluctuation in the number of articles on the conflict in both long and short term. In the second analysis I look at the news sources acknowledged in the articles, and examine the interrelationship between their salience and their nationality, social position or status. The third analysis is quantitative content analysis, which quantifies the articles' coverage of the positions put by the Australian and Japanese governments. All these three analyses reveal quantitative differences in the style of newspaper reporting of the whaling conflict between Australia and Japan. Then, in the fourth analysis, I conduct a qualitative discourse analysis to shed light on the differences in the way in which the newspapers' views of the whaling conflict were reflected in their news reporting. Newly obtained observations and findings from each analysis are



scrutinised in light of the literatures reviewed in Chapter One, so as to examine the relevance of previous theories of environment and media in relation to the press coverage of the whaling conflict in Western society (Australia) and non-Western society (Japan). Below, I explicate the analytical procedures for each of the four analyses in detail.

### ***1. Press Coverage of the Whaling Conflict (2001-2006; IWC57 & JARPA II)***

As seen in the previous chapter, newspapers normally devote space only to the topics in which editors and journalists appreciate significant value for reporting. That indicates the fluctuation in the amount of articles on the whaling conflict can be, at least to a certain extent, regarded to reflect the fluctuation in the newsworthiness of the whaling conflict for each newspaper. Based on this presupposition, I investigate the number of newspaper articles on a particular topic so as to reveal the fluctuation in the news media's attention to the topic. I first examine the number of articles on whaling published from January 2001 to December 2006 (72 months) for each of the five newspapers selected. For the collection of the target newspaper articles for the *Australian*, the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Herald Sun*, I use the ANZ Reference Centre, which is an electronic archives of all of these newspapers' articles published since 2001. A keyword search is conducted with the search term 'whaling' on the database. The articles retrieved by the keyword search include every type of newspaper text such as news reports, opinion and editorials, letters to the editor and cartoons. As for the selection of the articles of the *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, each newspaper's own database is used. Due to the restriction of the use of the database, I conduct a full-text search for the *Asahi Shimbun* and a key-word search for the

*Yomiuri Shimbun*. The numbers of retrieved articles per month of the five newspapers are counted throughout the research period. Among the retrieved articles of the Japanese newspapers, only articles which were published in the national edition are counted (i.e. articles published in the local edition are excluded from the research) for the sake of consistency. The fluctuations in the number of retrieved articles are compared among the five newspapers throughout the 72 months research period.

Then, another set of newspaper articles are retrieved in order to examine the differences in the newspapers' attention to the whaling conflict at a more detailed level. The 57th annual conference of the IWC in July 2005 (IWC57) and the whaling operation of Japan's Whale Research Program under Special Permit in the Antarctic II in December 2005 and January 2006 (JARPAII), whose significance in the whaling conflict has already been outlined in 2-3, are selected as the subjects of the analysis. Articles for this analysis are retrieved from the same set of databases used above, but in a slightly different manner. On each database (the ANZ Reference Centre, the *Asahi Shimbun*'s database, the *Yomiuri Shimbun*'s database), a full text search is conducted to collect all the articles including any of the search terms 'whaling', 'whaler' and 'whalers', with the publication periods limited to two months: May and June 2005 for the articles published around IWC57, and December 2005 and January 2006 for the articles published around JARPAII. After the database search, all of the articles are briefly read through in order to exclude the articles that are not relevant to the whaling conflict. The numbers of articles are recorded and compared among the five newspapers and also between the two publication periods.

## *2. News Sources*

The second part of the case study pays attention to news sources that were either directly or indirectly quoted in the newspaper articles on the whaling conflict. The importance and significance of news sources in the production of environmental news is, as outlined in previous studies (e.g. Anderson, 1997; Hansen, 2000; Hannigan, 2006; Lester, 2007. See also Schlesinger, 1990; Manning, 2001), unquestionable. News sources function as gatekeepers of news items, and the way they present and package news materials has a significant influence on the way journalists compose the materials into news stories. In this respect, the interaction between news sources and news workers are regarded as a key phase of news production. And a wide range of potential news sources, who have various degrees of capability to present their materials – in terms of economic power, social status and media strategies – compete with one another for better coverage in the news media. These observations suggest that careful examination of news sources in news coverage can reveal the power relationship of news sources and also the interaction between news sources and journalists.

In this analysis, the term ‘news sources’ is used to refer to persons, organisations or groups whose voices are mentioned in the articles. For example, if a person, organisation or group is referred to with particular terms such as ‘say’, ‘claim’, ‘insist’, or ‘maintain’ and with direct or indirect quotations, it is regarded to be a news source. Such sources, identified in the articles, are first divided into three levels: level III is defined as a clearly described source (e.g. the name and position of the person) with direct quotations; a level II source is clearly described and with indirect quotations; and level I is without clear source description (e.g. ‘Japan says ...’ or ‘whalers insist ...’) and with indirect quotations. If a source is

used at both level III and II, it is recorded as a level III source. Then, level III and II sources are classified into eight categories: officials of international organisations (e.g. the IWC or the UN); officials of the Australian government; officials of the Japanese government; officials of the developing nations;<sup>18</sup> scientists or scientific journals; anti-whaling activists (including environmental organisations); pro-whaling activists;<sup>19</sup> and others (this includes all other sources than above). Following these criteria, the total number of level III and II sources that appear in the articles of each of the five newspapers is counted. The same sets of articles used in the previous analysis (News Media's Coverage of the Whaling Conflict), which are the articles on the whaling conflict published during IWC57 (March and June 2005) or JARPA II (December 2005 and January 2006), are analysed.<sup>20</sup> The results are compared among the five newspapers and also between the two publication periods.

### ***3. Quantitative Content Analysis***

This part of the case study comparatively examines the articles' coverage of the positions on the whaling conflict put by the Australian and Japanese governments. Information and knowledge presentation by the news media is undoubtedly crucial for audiences when they make sense of the reported event, and its importance is even more significant in the case of news reporting across national boundaries since they are often heavily relied on by audiences to comprehend

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<sup>18</sup> 'The developing nations' in this context means the nations that are members of the IWC and are given official development assistance by the Japanese government. These nations were suspected of selling their vote at IWC57 to Japan.

<sup>19</sup> I use the term 'pro-whaling activists' to indicate the NGOs and citizens groups that promote whaling by raising awareness about the significance of whale-eating culture of Japan and other positive aspects of whaling.

<sup>20</sup> The numbers of analysed articles are: 23 (IWC57) and 12 (JARPA II) for the *Australian*; 25 and 12 for the *Sydney Morning Herald*; 13 and 17 for the *Herald Sun*; 12 and 2 for the *Asahi Shimbun*; and 11 and zero for the *Yomiuri Shimbun*.

what is going on outside their countries (Krauss, 1996). This suggests that news reporting of transnational environmental conflicts is crucial for the people of concerned nations when they accurately and appropriately comprehend why and how the conflicts are contested between their country and opposing nations.

The analytical method drawn on here is quantitative content analysis. The primary purpose of quantitative analysis in media research is to explore the reflection of the public events and debate in media content, and describe the results in a quantitative manner (Shoemaker and Reese, 1991; McQuail, 1994; Hansen et al., 1998; Deacon et al., 1999). While there are a wide range of branches of quantitative analysis, the fundamental presupposition of designing quantitative analysis is that 'media content is encoded according to the same language as the reality to which it refers' (McQuail, 1994: 276), and that numerical data of textual elements – such as the use of a particular word – can be regarded as an indicator of the overall meaning of the texts (McQuail, 1994: 276). Amongst several methods of quantitative approaches, content analysis is one of the most frequently used. Content analysis looks at the quantitative aspects of text in accordance with strictly systematised procedures, and thus the results are given as quantitative values. The purpose of content analysis is, according to Hansen et al. (1998: 95), to 'identify and count the occurrence of specified characteristics or dimensions of texts, and through this, to be able to say something about the messages, images, representations of such texts and their wider social significance'. Deacon et al. (1999: 116) also maintain that content analysis is conducted 'to quantify salient and manifest features of a large number of texts, and the statistics are used to make broader inferences about the processes and politics of representation'.

While the efficiency and significance of content analysis in media studies has been appreciated in a large number of previous literatures, content analysis is often misunderstood as claiming to generate objective results due to its methodological rigour and also due to its traditional well-known definition, 'a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication' (Berelson, 1952: 18). However, even though the collection of the quantitative data in content analysis is conducted exactly following the strictly structured procedures and thus it is not likely to be affected by the subjectivity of researchers, content analysis still cannot be literally objective. McQuail (1994: 277) argues, '...a category system employed in content analysis is structured based on the criteria of the research, so the result can not be the objective reflection of the original content'. He also warns that the interpretation of the result can be different from the way normal readers interpret the content. Therefore, it is reasonable to perceive content analysis as one of the systematic methods that can 'describe and analyse media content in a more comprehensive way, a way less prone to subjective selectiveness and idiosyncrasies' (Hansen et al., 1998: 91), rather than assume absolute objectivity. While overuse of the quantitative methods has led to criticism that content analysis abuses its claim to objectivity, such criticism is directed at 'the potential and actual (mis-)uses and abuses' (Hansen et al., 1998: 98) of content analysis, not at the nature of the method. Based on these observations, I argue quantitative content analysis is apt for the examination of the articles' coverage of the positions on the whaling conflict put by the Australian and Japanese governments.

Specifically, I explore the numbers of articles in which the five newspapers covered the governmental positions of both nations in the two research periods

(i.e. May and June 2005 for IWC57; December 2005 and January 2006 for JARPA II). I first form a comprehensive picture of the governmental positions on the whaling conflict by reading through the information on the issue released by the governments.<sup>21</sup> Background reading of those literatures reveals that most of the arguments of the Australian and Japanese governments on the whaling conflict fall into four categories: political/legal arguments; environmental/ethical arguments; scientific arguments; and nationalistic arguments. Since the Australian and Japanese governments make opposing arguments in every category, I perceive the whaling conflict to consist of eight fields of debate.<sup>22</sup> The arguments of each field are as follows.

*political/legal arguments of the Australian government*

- Since international organisations need to adopt their objectives and perspectives so as to fit the changing environment, the outdated law giving permission to conduct whaling for scientific purposes needs to be revised.
- The IWC has failed to properly monitor the sustainable use of whale resources.
- Japan uses its official development assistance to buy the votes of small and poor nations among the IWC members.
- There is no guarantee that Japan conducts whaling following guidelines set by the IWC, and it is hard to rule out illegal whaling operations.

*political/legal arguments of the Japanese government*

- Scientific whaling is the official right given to every member nation of the IWC in accordance with Article VIII of the *International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling*.
- The same article permitting research whaling also declares that any whale caught for research must not be wasted, so it is reasonable for Japan to sell the meat of a whale after examination.
- Japan provides its official development assistance not only for the

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<sup>21</sup> The information sources include the Department of the Environment and Heritage of the Australian government, the Japan Fisheries Agency and the Institute of Cetacean Research. Their positions on the whaling conflict are available on their websites or in the form of press releases that are downloadable from their websites. <http://www.environment.gov.au/coasts/species/cetaceans/index.html> for the Department of the Environment and Heritage of the Australian government (it is now the Department of the Environment and Water Resources); <http://www.jfa.maff.go.jp> for the Japan Fisheries Agency; and <http://www.icrwhale.org> for the Institute of Cetacean Research.

<sup>22</sup> Note that 'field' here is used simply to represent each of the categorised groups of the governmental positions on the whaling conflict of Australia and Japan, while the term is often attached with a specific meaning in social science, such as 'field theory' of Bourdieu (1984, 2005).

pro-whaling nations but also for anti-whaling nations, so the assistance to the small nations should not be regarded as a matter of buying the votes to gain a majority within the IWC.

- The primary objective of the IWC is to pursue and ensure the sustainable use of whale resources, not to entirely protect the whales.
- Anti-whaling nations put pressure on the small nations to join their side.

*scientific arguments of the Australian government*

- Given the number of whales killed for Japanese whale research the researchers have not published an adequate number of peer-reviewed scientific articles, so the productivity of the research is extremely low.
- In order to obtain the scientific data Japan is seeking, lethal methods are not necessary but non-lethal means can produce such data.
- Japan's argument about the population of minke whales includes a lot of scientific uncertainty, so the number of whales to be culled should not be prescribed.
- It is scientifically groundless to conclude that recovered whale populations are threatening fishing industries by eating too many fish.
- Endangered whale species should not be hunted even for scientific purposes.

*scientific arguments of the Japanese government*

- Japanese whale researchers have published a large number of peer-reviewed scientific articles.
- Some scientific journals have rejected research papers on Japanese whale research because data was obtained by lethal sampling of whales.
- The data required for the proper management of whale resources can only be obtained by lethal methods.
- An overly abundant population of minke whales may compete with humans over fish resources, so it may threaten the fishing industries.
- Science today can enable us to utilise the whale resources in a sustainable manner.
- Anti-whaling arguments are scientifically groundless, just emotional.

*environmental/ethical arguments of the Australian government*

- Killing whales is cruel and inhumane.
- Whales are intelligent and highly sophisticated animals.
- Domestic animals and wild animals have to be treated in different ways.

*environmental/ethical arguments of the Japanese government*

- Technologies for killing whales have been developed to minimise the cruelty of the hunt, and there are no differences in cruelty and inhumanity between killing whales and killing various domestic animals.
- Anti-whaling activists' disturbance to the whaling operation delays death for the targeted whales.
- Environmental organisations forced small nations to become anti-whaling.



- Natural resources can be utilised if it is done in a proper way.

*nationalistic arguments of the Australian government*

- Australia is the world leader of whale conservation.
- Anti-whaling is the opinion of a majority all over the world today.
- Antarctica is a part of Australian territory, so Australia has to take responsibility for monitoring it.
- The tradition of whale dishes in Japan began only after World War II, so it is not part of Japanese traditional culture.
- Some traditional cultures don't suit today's environmental situation so they should be changed.

*nationalistic arguments of the Japanese government*

- Whaling and eating whale are both part of Japanese traditional culture.
- Forcing anti-whaling thought upon Japan is cultural imperialism.
- Anti-whaling is not the world's common opinion, but rather the consensus of a few Western nations.
- Australia's claim of the jurisdiction over Antarctica is not officially authorised.

Drawing on the list above, a quantitative content analysis is conducted on the news articles retrieved in an earlier part of the case study (News Media's Coverage of the Whaling Conflict),<sup>23</sup> in order to examine which arguments of these eight fields of debate were included in each of the news articles of the five newspapers. If any of the arguments in a particular field of debate is found in an article, the article is regarded to cover the field of debate. For example, an article including sentences such as 'whaling is an important part of the Japanese traditional culture' and 'non-lethal means of whale research is powerful enough to investigate the whale population' is considered as an article that covered the field of 'nationalistic arguments of the Japanese government' as well as the field of 'scientific arguments of the Australian government'. By doing so, the numbers of articles including each of eight fields of debate are counted respectively during each research period (i.e. IWC57 and JARPA II).

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<sup>23</sup> As noted in footnote 20 on page 52, the numbers of analysed articles are: 23 (IWC57) and 12 (JARPA II) for the *Australian*; 25 and 12 for the *Sydney Morning Herald*; 13 and 17 for the *Herald Sun*; 12 and 2 for the *Asahi Shimbun*; and 11 and zero for the *Yomiuri Shimbun*.

#### ***4. Qualitative Discourse Analysis***

As I noted in the previous chapter, studies of environment and media have revealed that journalists' views on an environmental issue are reflected in news content in the form of tone, framing and story line. While the three analyses described above can reveal how the news coverage of the whaling conflict is influenced by journalists' views on the conflict from different viewpoints, they all draw on quantitative analysis techniques and therefore are limited by the methodology itself. Hansen et al. point out that quantitative content analysis is prone to ignore one of the most important aspects of news sources in media coverage, namely how they are represented:

...analysing and quantifying the types of actors or sources who are quoted or referred to in media coverage ... needs to go further to analyse the differential uses to which various 'voices' are being put in the media. ... [Content analysis] does not normally distinguish between the potentially very different messages that come from the same group of primary definers, nor does it indicate the varying degrees of 'legitimacy' accorded different sources or voices by the media. (1998: 109)

That is, quantitative analysis, if it is done in a vacuum, cannot comprehensively reveal the differences in the way in which the newspapers' views on the whaling conflict were reflected in news articles of Australian and Japanese newspapers. Therefore, the present study devotes its fourth part of the case study to a qualitative analysis to complement this point. Specifically, drawing on qualitative discourse analysis techniques, editorial articles are first analysed to clarify the newspapers' views on the whaling conflict, and thereafter news articles on the key vote at IWC57 are closely examined to reveal the interrelationship between the newspapers' views and their news discourse. Below I overview the literatures about qualitative discourse analysis to explore the analytical techniques apt for

this purpose, which is followed by a detailed explanation of the procedures of the editorial and news report analysis conducted in this case study.

Qualitative analysis of news texts is established on the idea that news is constructed through social practices. A notable critical linguist Roger Fowler argues that news discourse does not neutrally reflect either 'social reality and empirical facts' or 'the intrinsic importance of those events' (1991: 2) but can be seen as a final product of the news production process. Through this process, the information for the news report is selected and transformed through the 'generally unconscious' ideology of journalists (Fowler, 1991: 2). Kress (1983) also observes that 'traces' of the linguistic/ideological transformations during the news production processes can be found in the news text. Therefore, the language used in the news story can tell us much more than the story actually says about the event, because it indicates, if not explicitly, what types of ideological and socio-economic factors concerning the event have influenced the news production process. Fowler (1991) perceives language to be a semiotic code, which can designate and further form the structures of value and ideologies. The abstract ideologies of the society consciously or unconsciously referred to by journalists throughout the news production process actually dominate the news text structure, although they are not necessarily stated and are usually unquestioned. In this respect, the news is 'a representation of the world in language' (Fowler, 1991: 4). Kress (1983) also points out the important role of text and language in news reporting. In the news reporting process, he argues, an event is mediated from one perceiver to another, and this mediation process is essentially dependent on language. Perceivers of an event bring their own schemata that they use to comprehend the event, and the perceivers present the event to other perceivers by

selected linguistic categories depending on the schemata they use on comprehension. Kress insists that 'the schemata may exist only in and through language, or at least, become public and articulate only in and through language' (1983: 121), and thus language plays a critical role in the mediation process of the news event.

All these observations suggest that by properly analysing the language in the news, we can shed light on those ideological and socio-economic factors behind the news event and the news production of it. That is, the news text is regarded as the resultant presentation of either news sources' or journalists' selection and highlights from a range of possible presentations. For example, news frames can be regarded as 'manifest in the choice and range of terms that provide the context in which issues are interpreted and discussed' (Miller and Riechert, 2003: 114) because *framing* is a widely employed technique of selecting particular aspects of a perceived reality in order to make them more prominent in a message (see Chapter One). Fowler (1991: 4) maintains 'each particular form of linguistic expression in a text – wording, syntactic option, etc. – has its reason', and 'differences in expression carry ideological distinctions (and thus differences in representation)'. Therefore, by carefully exploring those linguistic features in news reporting, we can reveal 'newspapers' ideological practice of representation' (Fowler, 1991: 5) which subliminally works in the production process of the news reporting.

When analysing news text, I draw on several analytical schemes. One of them is *critical linguistics*. Among qualitative methods for news text analysis, critical linguistic approaches have been studied as a powerful tool revealing ideologies behind the news. Critical linguistics today is primarily based on

systemic grammar/linguistic theory developed by Halliday (1978, 1985). It presupposes that the choices of the news text in linguistic elements such as vocabulary and grammar are entailed by the process of coding news events in language, and those choices are able to carry ideological meaning (Fairclough, 1995: 25). Thus, careful examination of these textual elements can reveal the interrelationship between the linguistic processes and ideological processes of news text production.

In addition to critical linguistic techniques, I also employ the discourse analytic scheme proposed by Van Dijk (1991), namely the social cognition and socio-cultural contexts approach. The focus of his scheme is to clarify the theoretical link between news texts and the socio-cultural background behind news production. The textual analysis method described by Van Dijk (1991) explores news texts from three different but interrelated levels: *style and rhetoric*; *local coherence* and *global coherence*. In the analysis at the level of *style and rhetoric*, choices of words and syntactic structure in a sentence are examined since those choices imply not only opinions but also social and ideological positions of the journalists about news events and actors. Other levels of analysis pay attention to the meaning relations between subsequent sentences on different scales. An important semantic idea drawn on here is *proposition*, which is 'the conceptual meaning structure of a clause' (Van Dijk, 1991: 112) (cf. the technique of style/rhetoric is utilised to form the proposition). The sequence of subsequent propositions can generate a new meaning as either *referential coherence*, which implies a direct causal connection of those propositions, or *functional coherence*, in which the second proposition gives the 'specific evaluative implications' (Van Dijk, 1991: 112) to the first proposition. As a result of the use of these coherences,

journalists impose their own interpretation of the news events and actors on their readers.

Drawing on these analytic schemes, a qualitative discourse analysis is conducted in order to reveal how the newspapers' views on the whaling conflict were reflected in the framing, tone and story lines in their news reporting. A set of editorial articles are first examined in order to illuminate the newspapers' views on the IWC, commercial whaling, Japan's research whaling and the whaling conflict, since editorials are where newspapers represent their opinion on the topics (Rupar, 2007: 590). In order to increase the efficiency and accuracy of the comparative analysis, editorial articles of the five newspapers for the analysis are searched within the research period around IWC57. The *Australian*, the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Asahi Shimbun* carried one editorial article each within the research period. Since the *Herald Sun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* did not carry editorial articles within the period, an opinion article published within the period is used instead of editorial articles for the *Herald Sun*, and an editorial article published in 2003, which is the latest editorial article of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* about the whaling conflict, is used for the *Yomiuri Shimbun*.<sup>24</sup> Even though this article may not exactly reflect views on the whaling conflict as of 2005, it is still considered to provide substantial insight, as does the overall scarcity of editorial opinion on the issue in the Japanese press. The *Sydney Morning Herald* carried its editorial article on the whaling conflict on 22 June 2005. The editorial article of the *Australian* and the opinion article of the *Herald Sun* followed on the next day, which was the day after Australia's proposal calling for Japan to withdraw its new whale research plan had been accepted. It was three days after IWC57 was closed

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<sup>24</sup> The editorial article of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* was published in both Japanese and English. The English edition was used for the analysis in order to prevent potential problems caused by translation.

on 24 June 2005 that the editorial of the *Asahi Shimbun* was published.<sup>25</sup>

Once newspapers' views on the whaling conflict are revealed by the qualitative discourse analysis of editorial/opinion articles, another discourse analysis is conducted on the news articles to reveal how differently the whaling conflict is framed by the five newspapers. These analysed news articles are reporting one of the key votes at IWC57 on Japan's proposal to adopt the Revised Management Scheme, which was a scheme indispensable for the resumption of commercial whaling and therefore the vote was critical to the decision of the direction of the IWC (i.e. towards the resumption of commercial whaling or towards the total ban of commercial whaling).<sup>26</sup> The proposal was rejected by a vote of 29 to 23 with five abstentions on 21 June 2005, and the five target newspapers carried articles about the vote on the following day. This is the only event during the research period that all the examined five newspapers covered on the same day. In the analysis, the headlines and lead paragraph are first comparatively examined, because they are conventionally the top of the 'conceptual meaning structure' of the story (Van Dijk, 1991: 112) and therefore can give an intuitive and conceptual comprehension of the news story. Then, the focus of the analysis shifts to the framing of key terms of the news event.

After conducting two types of qualitative discourse analysis (one on editorial/opinion articles and the other on news articles), findings and observations from the analysis are discussed so as to reveal how the newspapers'

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<sup>25</sup> On the following day, the editorial of the *Asahi Shimbun*, which was in Japanese, was also carried on the *International Herald Tribune/Asahi Shimbun*, which is an English edition of the *Asahi Shimbun* published in cooperation with the *International Herald Tribune*. For the analysis of the editorial of the *Asahi Shimbun*, the English edition was used in order to prevent potential problems caused by translation.

<sup>26</sup> Therefore, not only delegates but also the media paid enormous attention to the result. For the anti-whaling allies, which had been anxious about the IWC being dominated by the pro-whaling nations for the first time after the moratorium had been adopted in 1982, the result was a relief. Of course, the result was disappointing for the pro-whaling nations, particularly Japan, which had been making substantial efforts to ensure that the commission adopt the revised management scheme.

views on the whaling conflict were reflected in their news reporting of the whaling conflict: they are firstly discussed in isolation and then within the context of the quantitative analyses of news sources and the eight fields of controversy conducted earlier.

Note that obstacles caused by the language difference need to be carefully considered when conducting the qualitative discourse analysis. This analysis is unique as a piece of research tackling environment and media because it is conducted across the languages of English and Japanese. As mentioned, most previous studies have been conducted domestically in Western nations, and one of the major reasons is possibly the language barrier. In relation to this case study, for example, while the examined editorial articles of the *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* were published in both English and Japanese, the examined news articles of these newspapers were published only in Japanese. That means, without satisfactory language ability in both English and Japanese researchers cannot analyse the news articles in depth. The author – a native Japanese speaker with experience of using English for more than 15 years in study and research – is well equipped to conduct such bilingual studies.

On the other hand, however, it needs to be realised that language competence in English and Japanese does not completely remove limits on the qualitative discourse analysis, since English and Japanese are entirely different languages. They have distinct linguistic origins, use different characters and vocabularies, and share virtually no grammatical rules. Therefore, when conducting textual analyses in English and Japanese at the critical analysis level – particularly with critical linguistic techniques that have a chief emphasis on the grammatical structure of clauses – there is always a possibility that the results contain



misinterpretations of the text and researchers' preconceptions about the analysed news events. It is very difficult to directly compare these languages even when the analysis is conducted with great care. This should be borne in mind when the results of the qualitative discourse analysis are discussed, as occurs in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER THREE. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **3-1. Chapter Introduction**

In the previous chapter, I described the way four different types of analyses were conducted upon the articles on the whaling conflict published by three Australian newspapers and two Japanese newspapers. In this chapter, I report the results of the analyses and compare them among the examined newspapers. I then discuss these results in light of previous literatures on environmental news reporting overviewed in Chapter One to examine which observations of the newspaper reporting of the whaling conflict agree with the previous knowledge of the environmental media research, and which do not. At the end of the chapter, by integrating the findings and observations of the case study, I provide an overall discussion that answers the research question presented in 2-2.

### **3-2. Case Study**

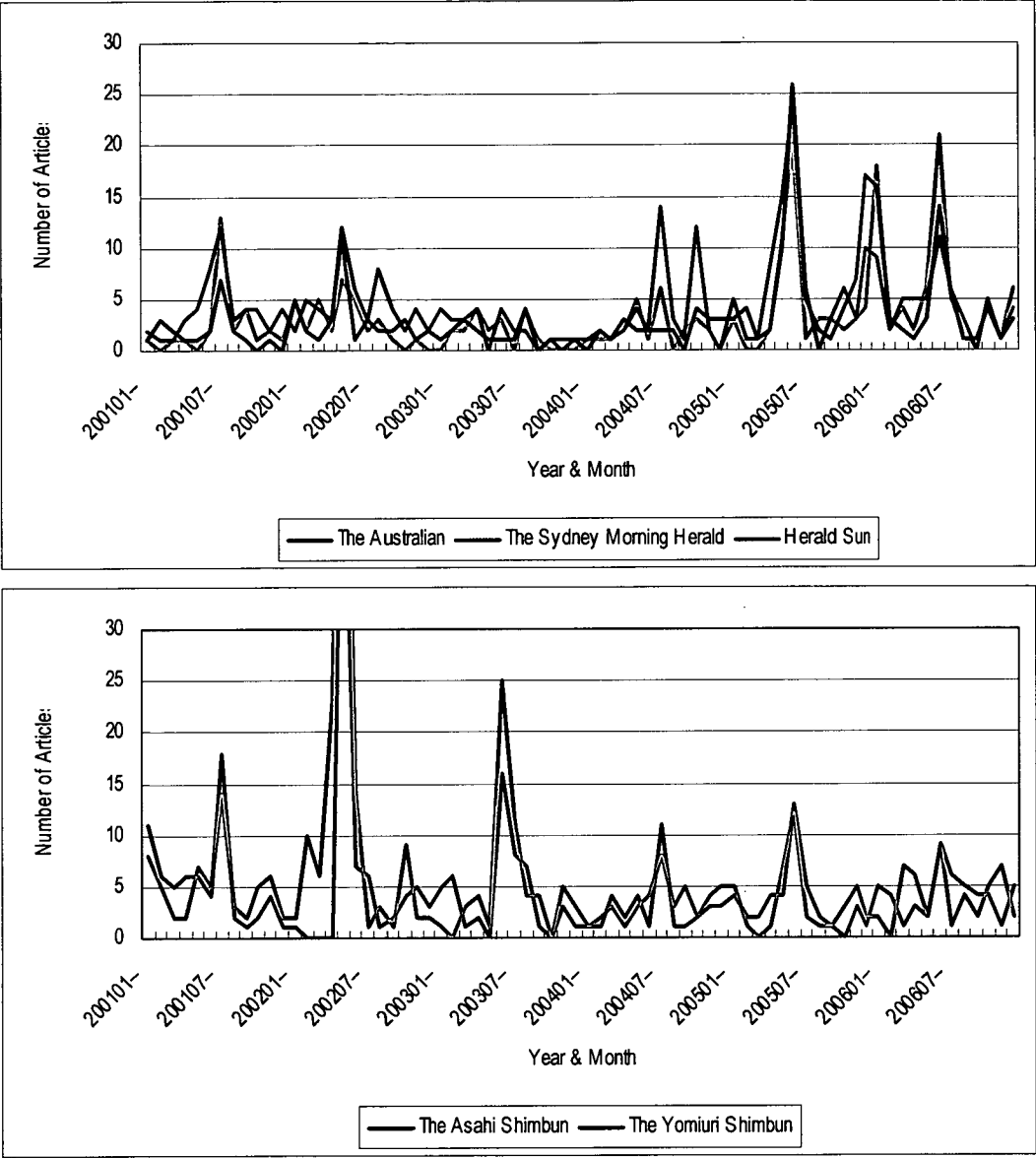
#### ***1 (1). Press Coverage of the Whaling Conflict (2001-2006)***

The fluctuation of numbers of articles about whaling published from January 2001 to December 2006 is shown in Figure 3-1. The graphs illustrate that all of the studied newspapers have several peaks in the intensity of their coverage on whaling. Upon interpreting the graphs it is useful to note when the IWC annual conferences were held each year, because many of the peaks of the graphs agree with the date of the IWC annual conferences: IWC53 was held in London in July 2001; IWC54 in *Shimonoseki* (Japan) in May 2002; IWC55 in Berlin in June 2003; IWC 56 in Sorrento (Italy) in July 2004; IWC57 in *Ulsan* (Korea) in June 2005; and IWC58 was in St. Kitts and Nevis in June 2006. Another event worth

taking account of during the research period is the protest action of anti-whaling environmental NGOs against the Japanese whaling fleet, which was held during Japan's research whaling operations mainly in December 2005 and January 2006. The number of articles on whaling in the *Australian* was high in July 2001, and then generally low with small peaks in May 2002 and July 2004, until it dramatically jumped in May and June 2005. After that, the *Australian* published a significantly large number of articles in January and July 2006. The *Herald Sun*'s articles show fluctuations largely similar to the *Australian*, with small peaks in July 2001 and May 2002, and then a noticeable leap during May and June 2005. Other significant peaks are observed in December 2005 and January 2006, and in June 2006. The *Sydney Morning Herald* shows a slightly different pattern from those two newspapers, but in the main, very similar. While it has two peaks in July and May 2002 and is low through 2003 like the two other newspapers, it has another small peak in August 2002 and a noticeable jump in July 2004. Other peaks are, as with the other two Australian papers, around May 2005, December 2005 and June 2006.

The graphs of both the Japanese newspapers are perceptibly different to the Australian newspapers. The graph of the *Asahi Shimbun* content illustrates its regular attention to whaling. It has clear peaks in July 2001, May 2002, June 2003, July 2004, June 2005 and June 2006, all of which correspond to the months the annual conferences of the IWC were held. The peak in May 2002, when IWC54 was held in Japan, is significantly high compared to other peaks. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* also has a unique graph of the number of articles on whaling. The graph peaks in May 2002, when the *Yomiuri Shimbun* published an extraordinary number of articles in a month. Other noticeable peaks occur in April 2002 and

June 2003, which are the months before IWC54 and IWC55, respectively. In general, there seems to be a tendency for the *Yomiuri Shimbun* to have lost its interest in whaling since IWC54 and IWC55.



**Figure 3-1. Number of articles on whaling in 2001-2006.** (Top: Australian newspapers; bottom: Japanese newspapers) Each line represents the monthly number of articles including the term ‘whaling’.

Downs (1973), in his study developing the idea of an *issue-attention cycle*, maintains that while the attention of the news media to a particular news topic rises and falls in accordance with the news value of the topic, environmental events are likely to stay on the media agenda because they often include events

that are highly valued by news workers. However, the results above demonstrate that the whaling conflict did not stably command media attention throughout the research period, and the examined five newspapers' attention to the whaling conflict has dramatically fluctuated throughout the research period. As an overall tendency, while the attention of the examined Australian newspapers to the whaling conflict has been increasing from 2001 to 2006, that of the examined Japanese newspapers have been decreasing. Specifically, Australian newspapers did not pay as much attention to the whaling conflict as Japan from 2001 to 2003, but they started to increase their coverage on the issue in 2004 while Japanese newspapers' attention to the issue became stable at a lower level than before. This suggests that the whaling conflict is regarded as having different news values by the news media in the two nations. For Australian newspapers, the increased tension between the Australian and Japanese governments, which was primarily due to Japan's proposal to expand its research whaling, heightened the newsworthiness of the whaling conflict. The heated argument between the delegates of the two nations at the IWC annual conferences and environmental groups' protest action against the Japanese whaling fleet were newsworthy enough for Australian news workers. This phenomenon is consistent with the previous theory about newsworthiness in environmental news (e.g. Downs, 1973; Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993; Anderson, 1997). On the other hand, the newsworthiness of the whaling conflict as a heated environmental dispute does not seem highly evaluated by Japanese newspapers. This suggests that the whaling conflict is hardly on the media agenda in Japan despite the increasing amount of 'conflict' factors.

Another finding concerns the newsworthiness of legal/administrative events.

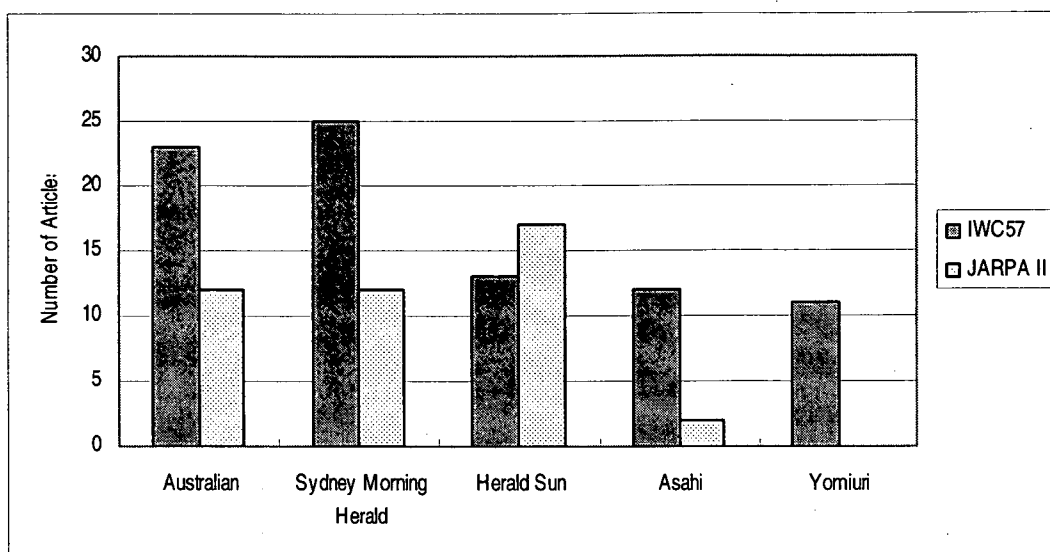
As reviewed in Chapter One, legal/administrative happenings are known to command wider coverage in the news media (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Hannigan, 2006). This general finding is partly observed on the graphs of the *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, both of which have peaks around the annual conferences of the IWC. At the same time, however, while Japanese newspapers, particularly the *Asahi Shimbun*, seem to have paid reasonably regular attention to the whaling conflict every year except in 2002, the attention to the whaling conflict of both the *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* is extremely high in 2002 compared to other years. Given the venue of the IWC annual conference that year, which was at Shimonoseki, a city located in the southern part of Japan, the *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* may have appreciated the annual conference not only as a legal/administrative event, but also as a significant international conference of an international organisation held in a Japanese city. Since no documents suggest that the intrinsic importance of whaling or the IWC annual conference was considerably higher in 2002 than other years, it can be concluded that the value of legal/administrative events concerning environmental issues can be substantially heightened by the newsworthiness attached to local events, namely 'cultural proximity' as a news value (Galtung and Ruge, 1965).

#### ***1(2). Press Coverage of the Whaling Conflict (IWC57 & JARPA II)***

As shown in Figure 3-2, the numbers of articles of the examined five newspapers are remarkably different between the two publication periods – around IWC57 (May and June 2005) and around JARPA II (December 2005 and January 2006). The *Sydney Morning Herald* published the largest number of articles on the whaling conflict around IWC57 among the examined newspapers, which is 25.

The *Australian* follows the *Sydney Morning Herald* with 23. These newspapers each published 12 articles around JARPA II respectively. The other examined Australian newspaper, the *Herald Sun*, published 13 articles during the search period around IWC57, which is nearly half the number published by the *Australian* and *SMH*. However, it published the largest number of articles around JARPA II, which is 17. The selected articles carried in the examined Australian newspapers in the search period around IWC57 (i.e. May and June 2005) were all about the events involved in IWC57, and all the articles carried in those papers during the search period around JARPA II referred to the collision between the environmental activists and Japanese whalers.

The numbers of the articles of the examined Japanese newspapers, by contrast, are all smaller than Australian papers. The *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* published 12 and 11 articles on the whaling conflict during the search period around IWC57 respectively. These numbers are almost half of the *Australian's* and *Sydney Morning Herald's* output, and very close to the number of the *Herald Sun*. Significantly, these Japanese newspapers published almost no articles on the whaling conflict during the search period around JARPA II. Only two articles were carried on the *Asahi Shimbun*, and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* did not publish any articles. Furthermore, while one of the two articles reports the protest action of anti-whaling environmental activity at the scene of JARPA II, the other article centres on the Japanese traditional culture of whale cuisine.



**Figure 3-2. Number of articles on the whaling conflict published during IWC57 and JARPA II.**

As overviewed in 1-3, a large number of literatures have thus far suggested that journalists reporting environmental issues put larger news value on visible events (Hannigan, 2006), human-interest stories (Hannigan, 2006), visibly appealing iconic animals (Anderson, 1997), and conflicts and controversies (Hannigan, 2006). According to this theory, the newspapers would have published a larger number of articles on JARPA II than on IWC57, given that JARPAII contained protest actions by the anti-whaling environmental activists, including collisions of Japan’s whaling vessel and activists’ ships and also films of whales being harpooned. In contrast to this presumption, however, the case study shows an opposite result – all studied newspapers but the *Herald Sun* published a larger number of articles on the event concerned with IWC57 than the environmental protest actions during JARPAII. In other words, the news value of events of IWC57 is more highly appreciated by the *Australian*, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* than the news value of the anti-whaling protest actions. Given that these four newspapers are prestigious broadsheets and the *Herald Sun* is tabloid, it can be concluded that the news value



of the whaling conflict varies depending on the type of newspaper. That is, broadsheets attach higher news value to the IWC, which is the sole internationally authorised management body of whale resources management and therefore political and officially outstanding. Particularly in Japan, newspapers have a stronger orientation to reporting official events rather than reporting non-official events (McCargo, 2003). The anti-whaling protest actions were, in contrast to the IWC, carried out by nonofficial environmental groups. Since these contained a number of visually appealing events for the news but did not carry much in terms of political or official meaning, their news value was more highly appreciated by a tabloid newspaper, which is known to attach greater newsworthiness to sensationalism than to intrinsic significance (Schudson, 2003). These observations suggests that while tabloid newspapers prefer to cover visibly appealing events, prestigious newspapers attach greater news value to legal/administrative events than to visibly appealing events.

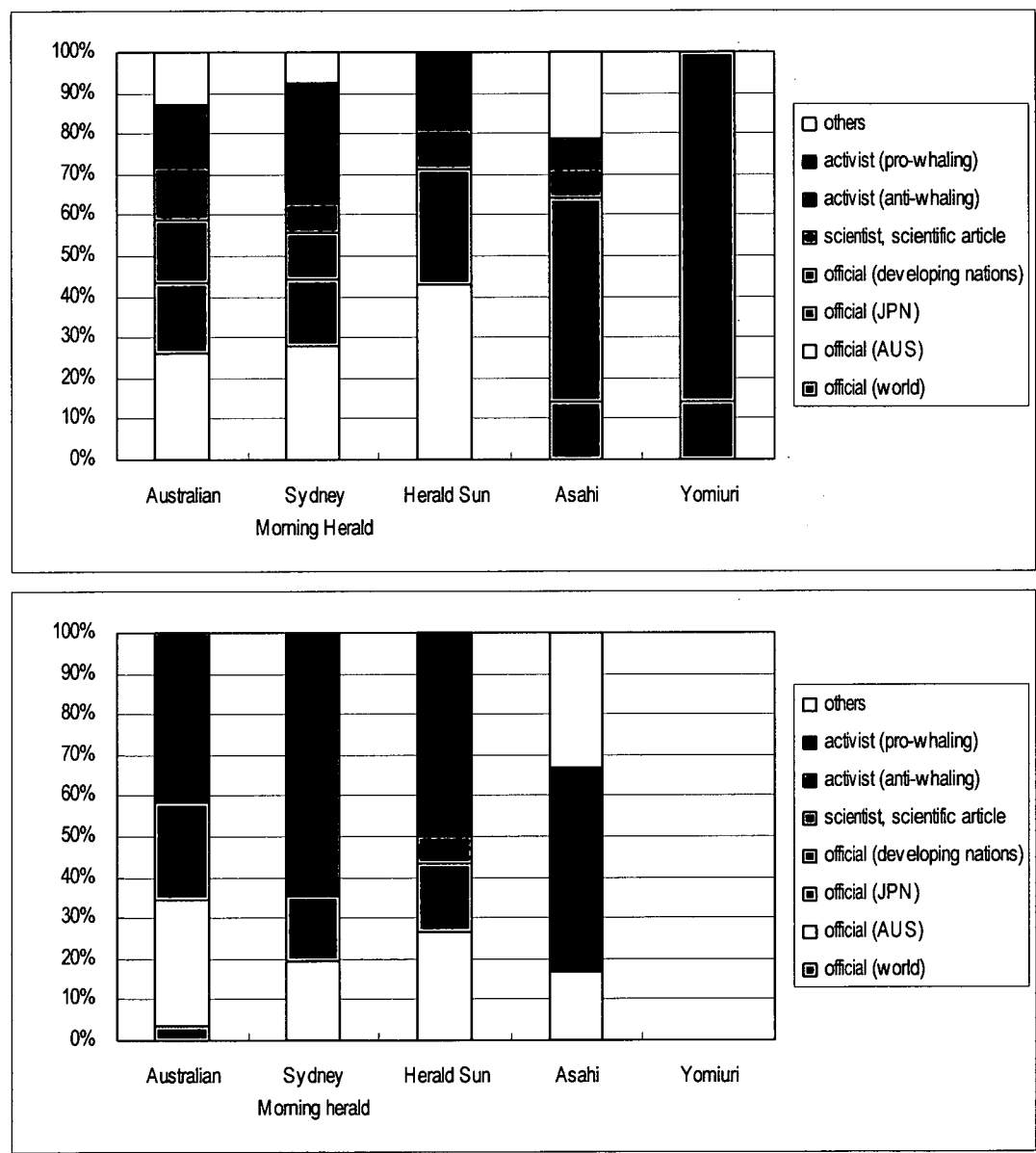
## **2. News Sources**

Figure 3-3 shows the result of the news source analysis. Striking differences are observed in the diversity of the news sources used between the Australian and Japanese newspapers, and also between the two research periods. The source diversity of the *Australian* and *Sydney Morning Herald* is largely similar when reporting the events of IWC57. More than a quarter of the sources these newspapers used are Australian officials: 26% for the *Australian* and 28% for the *Sydney Morning Herald*. They also used officials of Japan and developing nations: 17% of the news sources of the *Australian* were Japanese officials and 15% were officials of developing nations; 17% of the sources the *Sydney Morning Herald*

used were Japanese officials and 11% were officials of developing nations. In short, more than half of the news sources quoted in the *Australian* and *Sydney Morning Herald* were officials. The *Herald Sun* shows stronger orientation towards official sources than these two papers, Australian officials were 43% of its sources and 29% were Japanese officials. Anti-whaling activists were more prominent in the coverage of the *Sydney Morning Herald* than the other studied Australian newspapers: 24% for the *Sydney Morning Herald*; 13% for the *Australian*; and 5% for the *Herald Sun*. There is no remarkable difference observed in the proportion of news sources from the field of science among the three Australian newspapers: 13% for the *Australian*; 7% for the *Sydney Morning Herald*; and 10% for the *Herald Sun*. Japanese newspapers showed considerably heavier dependence on their own nation's officials for their news sources on reporting the whaling conflict during IWC57. Half of the *Asahi Shimbun*'s sources are Japanese officials, and seven out of the eight quoted sources in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* were officials of the Japanese government. What is more, neither of these papers used Australian officials for their source.

The news source diversity of Australian newspapers reporting the whaling conflict during JARPA II demonstrates striking contrast with that of the IWC57 reporting, particularly in the respect of the prominence of anti-whaling activists. The orientation towards the use of official sources is not as remarkable as the IWC57 reporting in all the examined newspapers except the *Australian*, which used official sources in a very similar proportion to the IWC57 reporting, which is 59%. The *Sydney Morning Herald* used officials for 35% of its news sources and the *Herald Sun* used 43%. As for the proportion of anti-whaling activists as news sources, the *Sydney Morning Herald* records the largest among all the examined

newspapers, which is 58%. The *Herald Sun* follows it with 50%, and then 41% in the *Australian*. The *Asahi Shimbun*, in contrast to Australian newspapers, quoted anti-whaling activists for only 17% of its news sources, but quoted pro-whaling activists two times as much as that. Interestingly, it did not quote any Japanese officials, but it used Australian officials for 17% of its news sources.



**Figure 3-3. Diversity of news sources.** Top: During the research term around IWC57. Bottom: During the research term around JARPA II. As noted previously, the numbers of analysed articles are: 23 (IWC57) and 12 (JARPA II) for the *Australian*; 25 and 12 for the *Sydney Morning Herald*; 13 and 17 for the *Herald Sun*; 12 and 2 for the *Asahi Shimbun*; and 11 and zero for the *Yomiuri Shimbun*.

As noted in Chapter Two, journalists reporting environmental matters tend to

heavily rely on the sources which are established, authorised and acknowledged in the society, and also that the authoritarianism of journalism causes the hegemony of official sources such as governmental figures, public officers, scientists and specialists, at least in Western society (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993; Miller and Riechert, 2000). Such hegemony of governmental officials is supported in newspaper reporting of the whaling conflict during IWC57, by the finding that all the studied newspapers of Australia and Japan appear to have attributed more than 50% of their news sources to governmental officials. Furthermore, previous observations that today the media are often suspicious about the credibility of the information from environmental activists previously accepted as major news sources for environmental reporting (Anderson, 1993; Hansen, 1993; Neuzil and Kovarik, 1996), seems to a limited extent consistent with the news source diversity of the whaling conflict during IWC57. While the *Sydney Morning Herald* quoted environmental activists in nearly 30% of its total quotations, the other two Australian newspapers quoted them for about 20% and Japanese newspapers paid almost no attention to them: the proportion of the environmental activists is 7% in the *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* did not quote them at all. These observations support the argument that official sources gain a dominant position over environmental activists in news reporting of the whaling conflict. While not denying that activists can penetrate this official dominance, it is important that sceptical views of the hegemony of elite sources (e.g. Cracknell, 1993) are considered within their specific context.

In relation to the hegemony of elite sources, Japanese newspapers did not quote Australian officials, while Australian newspapers used Japanese officials for about 20-30% of their identifiable news sources. This suggests that the hegemony

of official sources in Japanese newspaper coverage is heavily dependent on whether they are of the nation's government or not. In addition, it is also clear that scientists, who are reported to be main news sources as well as governmental officials in environmental reporting (Rowell, 1996; Hannigan, 2006), were not intensely quoted at all.

The graph of the source analysis of the other research term, which is around JARPAII, shows remarkable differences from that of IWC57. Although officials of the Australian and Japanese governments are still salient in the three Australian newspapers' coverage, with proportions ranging from 35% to 55%, they are not dominant news sources because anti-whaling environmental activists are also intensely quoted. Given that the articles published by the Australian newspapers were mostly about the collision between anti-whaling environmental activists and Japanese whalers, the previous observation that some international environmental NGOs are still able to command media attention by staged events (Princen and Finger, 1994) is supported. However, the finding that environmental groups widely covered in the coverage of the *Asahi Shimbun* were not Western environmental NGOs but local citizens groups suggests that the salience of environmental NGOs is significantly influenced by their social status. That is, the low coverage in the *Asahi Shimbun* of the anti-whaling activists, here namely Greenpeace and Sea Shepherd, is presumably a reflection of their status in Japan – small and unknown – compared to in Australia, and prominence of the Japanese pro-whaling citizens groups would be due to their firm connection with their local society. This indicates that the difference among the news sources in 'cultural capital' (Anderson, 1997, 2003) was reflected in the difference in the salience of them in news coverage.

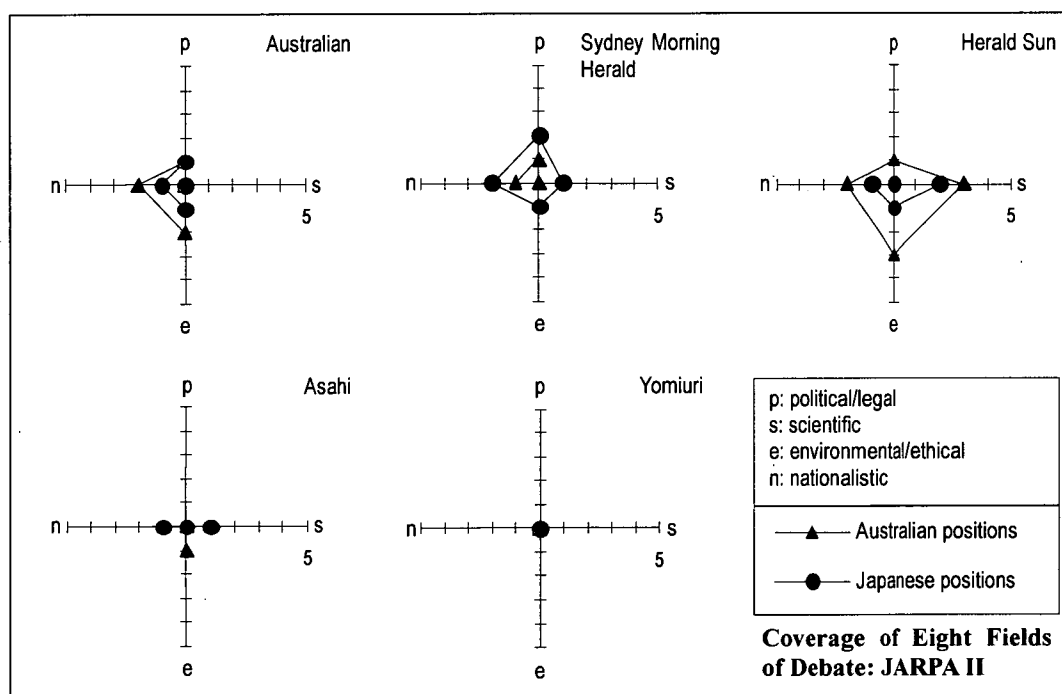
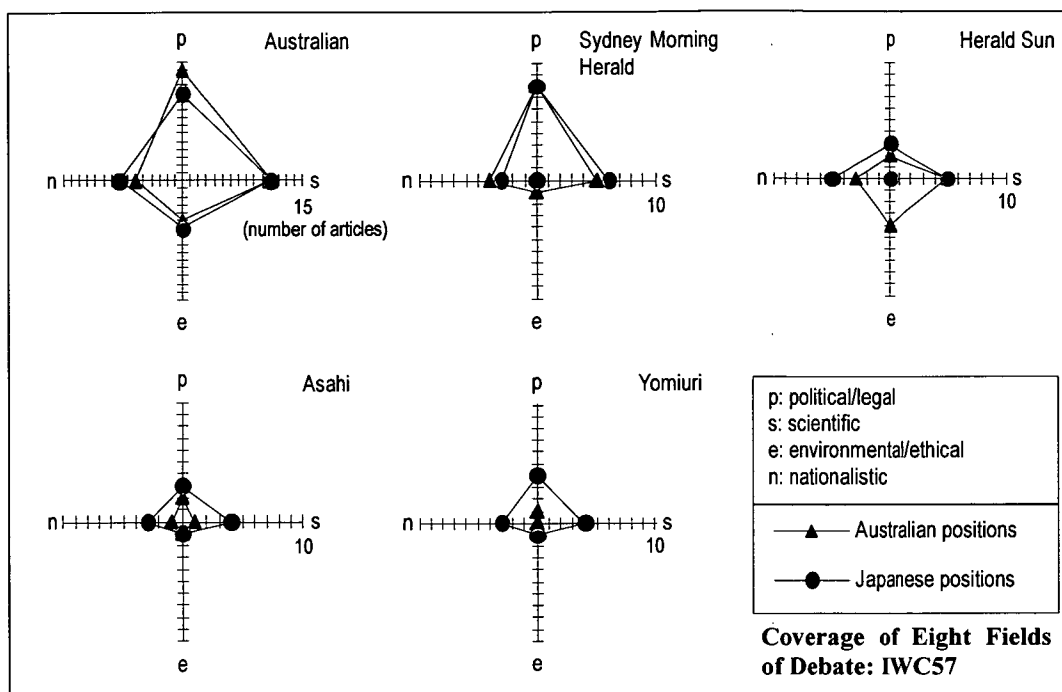
Needless to say, the amount of analysed articles may well affect the result, and the present study has analysed only the articles published in a total of four months. Therefore, the results cannot be considered to represent the general tendency of news sources in press coverage of the whaling conflict. To reveal this, a study that is longer term, more historically grounded and looking beyond newspapers to other forms of news media, would be necessary. However, as the results presented above indicate that news events involved in the whaling conflict contain a wide range of players with different credibility and accessibility in different nations, it should be noted that generalisation of news sources possibly prevents researchers from realising the interrelationship between the property of news events, news sources and society.

### ***3. Quantitative Content Analysis***

The results of the quantitative content analysis are shown in Figure 3-4. These results show that the *Australian* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* carried a similar number of Australian and Japanese positions during the research period around IWC57. They show their strong attachment to the political/legal arguments, and the *Australian* also shows its preference towards the scientific arguments. The *Sydney Morning Herald* also appears to have preferences towards scientific arguments, if not as many as the *Australian*. Environmental/ethical arguments are the most infrequently used by those two newspapers, in particular by the *Sydney Morning Herald*. The *Herald Sun* shows significant differences from the other examined Australian newspapers in the use of the field of debate. Generally the *Herald Sun* did not carry a similar amount of arguments of Australia and Japan. For example, when providing the environmental/ethical arguments during IWC57,

the *Herald Sun* covered only the Australian government's perspective but not that of the Japanese government. In addition, unlike the other Australian newspapers, no tendency is observed for the *Herald Sun* to largely employ the political/legal arguments of either side. In contrast to the Australian newspapers, it is shown that the balance between Australian and Japanese arguments in the Japanese newspapers' coverage on IWC57 was clearly inclined towards Japan. In addition, while these Japanese newspapers paid similar attention to the political/legal, scientific and nationalistic arguments of the Japanese side, they paid small attention to the environmental/ethical aspects of the whaling debate: the *Asahi Shimbun* covered one argument each from the both sides of the whaling conflict; and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* covered one argument of the Japanese side.

Coverage of the eight fields of debate observed during the research period around JARPA II is by contrast far smaller than that of IWC57 reporting. Generally all the newspapers did not carry the arguments of the whaling conflict of either side as much as they did when reporting the whaling conflict during IWC57. The average number of points of the arguments per article drops from 4.2 to 0.7 (the *Australian*), from 1.8 to 0.7 (the *Sydney Morning Herald*), and from 2.7 to 0.8 (the *Herald Sun*). The *Yomiuri Shimbun* did not publish any articles during JARPA II, but its average number of points of the arguments per article when reporting IWC57 is 1.2. The numbers of the *Asahi Shimbun* are not largely different between JARPA II and IWC57, both of which are 1.5.



**Figure 3-4. Coverage of eight fields of debate of the whaling conflict.** (Top: research period of IWC57; bottom: research period of JARPA II) The numbers of articles including each of eight fields of debate are shown. Blue triangles represent the numbers of articles carrying Australian governmental positions, and red circles represent those for the Japanese governmental positions. Each graduation represents one article, and the point of the intersection of the axes means zero. The scale varies among graphs in order to make the graphs easier to observe; while the graphs about the articles on JARPA II (bottom) use the scale with the maximum value 5, the graphs about IWC57 (top) employs the scale with the maximum value 10 except for the graph of the *Australian* with the maximum value 15. Names of the axes are abbreviations of the categories of debate: p for political/legal; s for scientific; e for environmental/ethical; and n for nationalistic.



The striking difference between Australian and Japanese newspapers is found in the balance between Australian positions and Japanese positions. The examined Japanese newspapers hardly carried positions reflecting the Australian side. This tendency is remarkable when compared to the examined Australian newspapers, particularly the *Australian* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* that gave a similar number of Australian and Japanese positions. Since the information about the whaling conflict carried in Japanese newspapers is far from comprehensive, readers can hardly know how the conflict is contended between the two nations. Rather, readers of Japanese newspapers possibly perceive there are few counter arguments to the pro-whaling side.

While the examined Japanese newspapers' poor coverage of Australian official positions may be a reflection of their choice of 'cultural resonance' (Entman, 2004) frames, it also seems due to the difficulty caused by the language barrier. While the official sources of the Japanese side – namely the government of Japan, the Japan Fisheries Agency and the Institute of Cetacean Research – released their positions on the whaling conflict both in English and in Japanese, the official positions of the Australian side were released virtually only in English. Therefore, as Krauss (1996) observes in his study examining foreign correspondents of Japanese news organisations, the limited English ability of Japanese news workers may have significantly prevented them from comprehending or collecting information in English, and instead facilitated them to rely on Japanese officials for their ultimate information sources.

Another finding is about dominant fields of arguments. It is understood that that the news media prefer to report environmental issues as human interest stories, and therefore political or scientific aspects of issues are rarely focussed on in

news coverage (Hannigan, 2006). Nevertheless, while a clear tendency is not observed for news reporting of JARPA II, the results of the quantitative content analysis of IWC57 reporting show that in the coverage of the *Australian*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun*, political and scientific discourses about the whaling conflicts are dominant among the four fields of discourses. The *Herald Sun* shows a weaker preference for political/legal arguments, but it paid almost equal attention to the other three fields of controversy including scientific arguments.

Note that there is always some possibility that the results of a quantitative analysis are inaccurately interpreted if it is conducted alone, as mentioned in 2-4. Moreover, since the results presented above were generated based on the analysis of a small number of articles published in a period of four months, it would be inappropriate if the results were interpreted in a vacuum as an indicator of the differences between Australian and Japanese newspapers. However, since the analysis is complemented with a qualitative discourse analysis, such a small sample size should not be regarded as impairing the value of this analysis overall.

#### ***4. Qualitative Discourse Analysis***

By applying qualitative discourse analysis techniques to the editorial and news articles,<sup>27</sup> the study has revealed the views of the examined newspapers on the whaling conflict and also how these views were reflected in the way newspapers reported the key vote at IWC57. Below results and findings are presented for the five newspapers respectively, which are followed by an overall discussion to integrate the findings into a comprehensive argument about the differences in

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<sup>27</sup> See the appendix for editorial and news articles analysed in the qualitative discourse analysis.

news discourse between Australian and Japanese newspapers.

### *The Australian*

The discourse analysis of the editorial article carried by the *Australian* on 23 June 2005 has revealed that while this sole national newspaper of Australia is principally supporting its government and anti-whaling allies, it believes the emphasis of the arguments of the whaling conflict should more extensively be focussed on science. The *Australian* sees the opposition of the anti- and pro-whaling sides as a political battle, and its editorial concludes that IWC57 was 'a handsome victory' for Australia and anti-whaling allies since the key votes for the resumption of commercial whaling were all voted down. At the same time, unlike the other two examined Australian newspapers, the *Australian* does not push the government to take an even firmer stance against Japan, and it indeed shows some understanding of the whale-eating culture of Japan. This is because it deplores that the current argument of the whaling conflict has degenerated from what it is meant to be, which is 'an argument about properly regulated sustainability, conducted in scientific terms' (*Australian*, 23 June 2005: 12). And this also seems the primary reason the *Australian* takes a critical stance on Japan in the whaling conflict. What is repeatedly mentioned in the editorial of the *Australian* is its plain mistrust of the scientific ground of Japan's arguments on the whaling conflict. For example, the *Australian* rejects Japan's argument about whale stocks being recovered sufficiently for commercial whaling, arguing that 'the science on that is unclear' (*Australian*, 23 June 2005: 12), and it describes Japan's measures towards the resumption of commercial whaling as no more than 'obduracy and pseudo-science, which have only increased the moral legitimacy of

its opponents' (*Australian*, 23 June 2005: 12). The *Australian* goes on to argue the purpose of Japan's research whaling is to 'feed the curiosity of its scientists and the appetites of its diners'. Japan's research whaling as 'largely bogus annual "scientific" cull of whales' or 'pseudo-science' (*Australian*, 23 June 2005: 12), it argues.

The following discourse analysis of the news article of the *Australian*, which was published a day before the editorial and was reporting Japan's loss at the key vote of IWC57, shows how the *Australian's* editorial view on the whaling conflict was reflected in the examined news article in several ways. The headline and lead of the news article clearly frames the vote on the adoption of the scheme prerequisite for the resumption of commercial whaling as a heated battle between Australia and Japan, by its title 'Australia harpoons Japan in whale vote' and by describing IWC57 as 'this year's battle against pro-whaling countries' (*Australian*, 22 June 2005: 1). In addition, in the body part of the article the *Australian* uses vocabularies and expressions such as 'harpoon', 'victory', and 'unexpectedly heavy defeat' to describe the result of the vote, with quotes from Federal Environment Minister Ian Campbell announcing 'a really historic victory' for Australia and its pro-whaling allies against Japan. This seems to reflect the newspaper's supportive stance of its nation's government. No Japanese officials or other sources are quoted in the article, which suggests that the *Australian* heavily relied on political elite of its nation when composing this news story. This is inconsistent with the finding of the quantitative analysis of news sources, which shows the *Australian* used both Australian and Japanese sources in a balanced way.

On the other hand, there are no phrases or words that clearly reflect the

*Australian's* scepticism about the scientific rationale of Japan's arguments. While the news article dismisses the revised management scheme by describing it as 'Japan's hard-line version of a resource management scheme' (*Australian*, 22 June 2005: 1), it did not present any phrase explicitly indicating its sceptical view of Japan's scientific rationale.

#### *The Sydney Morning Herald*

The editorial article of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, which was published on 22 June 2005, shows its keen antipathy towards Japan's whaling, while there is no mention of scientific rationale of Japan's arguments. This Sydney-based broadsheet sees the current whaling conflict as a continuous part of the Save the Whale campaign originally launched in the 1980s, and therefore this newspaper refers to it as a 'battle' (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 June 2005: 10). It also shows its firmly supportive stance of its government's actions and maintains that Australia must take further steps such as 'to recruit more concerned nations' to the IWC, in order to 'shift the [IWC's] mandate away from whaling and towards conservation'. The *Sydney Morning Herald* vehemently accuses Japan because it believes that Japan has forcibly made its way towards whaling. In the editorial, Japan's official development assistance to some nations of the IWC is explained as 'euphemistically termed fisheries aid' for pushing the votes of the IWC towards the dominance of pro-whaling nations. In addition, the editorial dismisses Japan's research whaling by describing it as 'whatever it wants anyway', achieved by 'using a commission loophole' (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 June 2005: 10). This indicates that the *Sydney Morning Herald's* vehement disgust to Japan in the whaling conflict is based more on the tactics of Japan, rather than its scientific

rationale.

The examined news article of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, which was published on the same day as the editorial, explicitly reflects its view on the whaling conflict and its repugnance towards Japan's position. In both the headline and lead paragraph, the article uses terms such as 'harpoon', 'emphatic victory' and 'soundly beaten' to describe the result of the vote, and it also uses a phrase 'Japan's whaling ambitions' to indicate Japan's request to adopt the scheme prerequisite for the resumption of commercial whaling (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 June 2005: 6). All these expressions suggest that the *Sydney Morning Herald* frames the news event (i.e. rejection of Japan's proposal to adopt the revised management scheme) as a result of a harsh conflict between anti-whaling allies and Japan-led pro-whaling allies, and they also reflect the newspaper's firm anti-whaling stance. Furthermore, in the body of the article there are a number of phrases and expressions that reflect the *Sydney Morning Herald*'s bitterly critical stance – or even animosity – against Japan and thus emphasise Japan's loss at the vote. For example, it provides the number of votes by saying, 'Needing a three-quarters majority to succeed, it failed to even win half the votes, with 29 votes recorded against it and only 23 in support' (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 June 2005: 6). While this expression can be considered misleading given that Australia had been seriously worried about pro-whaling allies becoming the majority of the IWC, the *Sydney Morning Herald* uses 'even' possibly in order to emphasise the loss for Japan. In the same sentence, the term 'acolytes' is used to represent the nations that voted with Japan. Such an expression possibly gives readers an image that those nations were slavishly following Japan, and this expression corresponds to the newspaper's repugnance of Japan's tactical

recruitment of pro-whaling allies.

In addition to the use of vocabularies and expressions, the use of local coherence (explained in 2-4-4, see also Van Dijk, 1991) found in the news article also reflects the *Sydney Morning Herald's* antipathy towards Japan in the whaling conflict. In the eighth paragraph Joji Morishita justifying the revised management scheme is indirectly quoted, which is followed by two paragraphs featuring New Zealand's conservation minister Chris Carter. While his quoted comment does not mention any scientific or legal reasons why the scheme is unacceptable, it is passionate and thoroughly dismisses Japan's argument. This indicates that while the results of news sources analysis and quantitative content analysis suggests its coverage keeps balance between Australia and Japan, its news discourse is largely the reflection of the view of the anti-whaling side.

### *The Herald Sun*

The opinion article carried in the *Herald Sun* on 23 June 2005, which was written by journalist/author James Norman, shows a very strong antipathy to Japan's whaling. The use of terms such as 'victory' and 'win' indicates that the author, like other examined Australian newspapers, sees the whaling conflict as a battle between anti- and pro-whaling allies. What is repeatedly expressed is his distrust of Japan's research whaling, using descriptions such as "scientific whaling" (inverted commas), 'loophole', 'huge whaling industry by stealth', 'purely to harness profits for a niche meat trade', and 'to catch hundreds of whales for eating using the excuse of research' (*Herald Sun*, 23 June 2005: 19). It is plainly expressed that the author believes Japan's research whaling is not for science but just for meat, though no scientific argument against the rationale of Japan's

research whaling is presented. This indicates that he does not regard science itself as of central importance in the whaling conflict. In addition to research whaling, the article blames Japan for the current deadlock of the IWC by saying, 'Sadly, the fight to save the whale degenerated into something of a game of number-crunching, as Japan convinced tiny Pacific nations to support its expanded whaling plans', and it maintains that Australia and anti-whaling nations should 'take concrete steps to ensure animals are actually protected into the future' (*Herald Sun*, 23 June 2005: 19).

On the other hand, this repugnant view of Japan is not reflected in the news article of the *Herald Sun*, which was carried a day before the editorial article was published and was reporting the rejection of Japan's proposal to adopt the revised management scheme at IWC57. Generally the *Herald Sun*'s news article seems to have more focus on Japan itself, rather than employing frames such as battle or war between Japan and anti-whaling nations including Australia. The subject of the lead paragraph is – unlike the other studied newspapers that used Australia or anti-whaling allies as the subject – Japan. In addition, while Japan's intention towards the resumption of commercial whaling and its efforts are framed as 'whaling boost bid' or 'bid ... to push through a document aimed at resuming commercial whaling' (*Herald Sun*, 22 June 2005: 4), it does not use terms such as 'harpoon' or 'victory' in either its headline or lead paragraph. These terms could possibly remind readers of a bitter controversy or battle between anti-whaling nations and Japan. Neither does it use terms such as 'slaughter' but uses 'catches' to describe Japanese whaling while it still shows its scepticism about Japan's research whaling by referring to it as 'so-called scientific program' (*Herald Sun*, 22 June 2005: 4).



What is more, the article quotes political elites of both anti- and pro-whaling nations commenting on the revised management scheme seemingly in a balanced way. The quoted political elites are the same as the *Sydney Morning Herald* – namely Japanese delegation Joji Morishita and New Zealand conservation minister Chris Carter. However, while the *Sydney Morning Herald* quotes Joji Morishita first and then completely dismisses his comment by the quote of Chris Carter, the *Herald Sun* puts them the other way round. Consequently, the article seems to achieve neutrality at least to a certain extent.

### *The Asahi Shimbun*

A discourse analysis of the *Asahi Shimbun*'s editorial article about the whaling conflict, which was published on 27 June 2005, reveals that while the *Asahi Shimbun*, like the examined Australian newspapers, sees the IWC as the place of 'the long running war' between anti- and pro-whaling states, its perspective on the war is substantially different from that of the *Australian*, the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Herald Sun*. The most striking difference seems that the *Asahi Shimbun*'s editorial expresses almost no doubt in the scientific credibility of Japan's argument about the whale stock. The *Asahi Shimbun* understands the pro-whalers' argument about the abundance of certain whale species as a scientifically supported 'fact' (*Asahi Shimbun*, 27 June 2005: 3) based on the report issued by the IWC's scientific committee in 1990. The *Asahi Shimbun* seems to believe that the whale meat being sold as by-product of the research solely causes the anti-whaling nations' harsh criticism on Japan's research whaling as 'commercial whaling in disguise', and therefore it does not pay attention to the anti-whaling allies' distrust of the credibility of Japan's research

whaling and in Japan's scientific arguments on the whale stock management. It shows unquestioned trust in Japan's scientific rationale. While the editorial of the *Asahi Shimbun* admits that 'there are now many people in the world who do not want whales killed, whether they are endangered or not', and 'Japan should pay attention to this sentiment, at least concerning whaling on the high seas', it maintains the anti-whaling allies' persistence to the total ban on commercial whaling is 'not reasonable enough to win support from most of the world' (*Asahi Shimbun*, 27 June 2005: 3).

In the news report published on 22 June 2005 about Japan's loss at the key vote of IWC57, the *Asahi Shimbun*'s view on the whaling conflict is not explicitly reflected in the form of vocabularies or expressions, but the structural framing of the story implicitly shows its sceptical view on the anti-whaling allies. The headline of the article and the first sentence of the lead paragraph do not contain words such as 'win', 'lose', 'succeed' or 'fail', but plainly report that Japan's proposal to adopt a scheme prerequisite for the resumption of commercial whaling was voted down at the annual conference of the IWC (*Asahi Shimbun*, 22 June 2005: 12). These phrases do not give readers any sense of how intensely the vote was fought between anti- and pro-whaling sides. By contrast, the second sentence of the lead connects two circumstances: one is that a resolution towards the completion of the revised management scheme was unanimously adopted at the previous year's IWC annual conference (IWC56); and the other is that the resumption of commercial whaling was not realised due to strong opposition from anti-whaling nations. This sentence structure, if examined in light of the function of local coherence (Van Dijk, 1991), seems to allow readers to perceive that the anti-whaling side had changed its decision and it had caused the deadlock of the

discussion on the scheme and the resumption of commercial whaling. In addition, the next paragraph, after depicting the revised management scheme as based on scientific research, reports that anti-whaling nations have been opposing the scheme despite over ten years' discussion without giving any details of the reasons for the opposition. This presentation of information possibly gives the readers an impression that the anti-whaling side's opposition to the adoption of the revised management scheme is unreasonable and it is no more than their obstinacy.

### *The Yomiuri Shimbun*

The analysed editorial article of the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, which was published on 20 June 2003, explicitly shows its firmly supportive stance of the Japanese government on the whaling conflict, and it also vehemently criticises the anti-whaling side. Its expression, 'Japan tasting the bitterness of defeat' (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 20 June 2003: 3), indicates that the newspaper sees the whaling conflict as a battle between Japan and anti-whaling nations. At the same time, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* shows in the editorial article no doubt about Japan's assertion of its science on the whale stock and the calculated quota, and it sees the arguments of anti-whaling nations as simply groundless. Its insistence that Japan should cooperate with other pro-whaling allies and take strong measures to 'prevent the IWC from becoming a mere conservation organization' (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 20 June 2003: 3) indicates that the *Yomiuri Shimbun* is determined to keep its firmly opposing position to the anti-whaling side.

This firm pro-whaling stance of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* does not seem to be reflected in the examined news article, which was on the vote of the revised

management scheme (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 22 June 2005: 9). It avoids the use of emotional language. The headline of the article, like that of the *Asahi Shimbun*, says the vote on the revised management scheme was held at the annual conference of the IWC, and most of the lead paragraph is devoted to describing the information of the vote and abstention. However, it does not name the nations that had been directly opposing each other over the vote. Furthermore, when it gives the explanation of the revised management scheme in the second paragraph of the news article, it simply says the scheme is based on science without including any phrases indicating that the science has been controversial. Neither does it refer to criticisms of Japan's research whaling for its scientific rationale, but simply mentions that research whaling is the right of member nations of the IWC, when it reports that Australia called on Japan to withdraw its proposal for JARPA II.

Discourse analysis of the editorial articles has clarified that the three examined Australian newspapers clearly showed their mistrust in Japan's stance and rationale for the whaling conflict, and the two examined Japanese newspapers did not. This seems to be caused by the nature of the whaling conflict as a transnational event. As seen earlier, news production is strongly tied with socio-cultural views on the news topic. Here it is important to note that the socio-cultural perception of the whaling conflict (or other transnational environmental conflicts) is heavily influenced by voices of governmental officials, because they are the main players of the conflicts at the international governmental level. Further, as it is a transnational event, societies are more likely to be exposed to their own nation's official positions because of the difficulty in

accessing the opposing nation. Consequently, journalists would, possibly unconsciously, become soaked in their domestic governmental positions via their socio-cultural lives.

Interestingly enough, while these two contrasting perspectives on the whaling conflict were reflected in news reporting by the Australian and Japanese papers respectively, the ways this was achieved differ markedly between these two nations. The suspicion of Australian newspapers and their nation's political elites about Japan's whaling policy was noticeably reflected in news reports through the use of emotional language, such as 'harpoon' and 'victory'. In contrast, Japanese newspapers did not show their scepticism of the anti-whaling nations' positions in their news reports in an explicit way. The examined Japanese newspapers carried headlines and leads that did not contain – unlike the examined Australian newspapers – either emotive languages or any words emphasising the loss of Japan at the key vote at IWC57 (such as 'even' and 'only'), so they seemed to have plainly described the result of the vote. However, they might have employed local coherence techniques to implicitly express their discontent with anti-whaling allies and their arguments. In addition, by presenting virtually no arguments from anti-whaling sides, the *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* possibly prevented their readers from perceiving that the whaling conflict had been substantially controversial.

Given that both Australian and Japanese newspapers expressed their view on the whaling conflict as a harsh battle between anti- and pro-whaling allies in their opinion/editorial articles, the observations above indicate the differences between Australian and Japanese news coverage in the way this environmental issue has been represented. While it is understood that journalists prefer to represent an

environmental issue in contexts of controversy and conflict (Hannigan, 2006), this seems only applicable to the Australian news media.

However, though the way in which the whaling conflict is represented seems distinct between Australian and Japanese newspapers, both of them appear to have a strong tendency to represent their nations' governmental position on the conflict. If the vocabularies and tones of the news articles of the Australian newspapers, in particular the *Australian* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*, are examined in light of the voice of Federal Environment Minister Ian Campbell, who was the most prominent figure of the Australian delegates to the IWC, it becomes clear that the emotive languages adopted by these newspapers are to a large extent stemming from his comments. This suggests that the *Australian* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* may have employed emotive expression as an echo of the sensational language used by elite sources, rather than the result of the news media's dependency on provocative phrases. Alternatively, it may indicate the significance of political elites' media strategies. As Davis (2003a) observes in his study exploring media-source relations in the UK, political elites have become remarkably adept at presenting their positions in the form that news workers would prefer for news stories. Such highly refined public relations techniques of political elites, together with their overwhelming resource powers as news sources and journalists' growing reliance on external information sources, allows them to be exclusively covered by the news media 'when political elite consensus has been reached on a number of social and economic issues' (2003: 40). Given that the Australian government clearly showed its firm stance on the whaling conflict and vigorously promoted the dissemination of its positions among the public, its environment minister's statements might be well tuned to the news media.

The Australian newspapers' leaning towards their nation's government is also supported by the combined results of the qualitative discourse analysis and quantitative content analysis. The results of the quantitative content analyses show that while the examined Australian newspapers – particularly the two broadsheets – gave a reasonable amount of coverage not only to the Australian side but also to the Japanese side, the examined Japanese newspapers appear to give coverage virtually only to the Japanese side. This indicates that news reporting of Australian newspapers is more neutral than Japanese newspapers. However, the discourse analysis of the news article of the *Sydney Morning Herald* show that while the newspaper presented the voice and positions of both the Australian government and the Japanese government, these were put in contexts that were largely similar to the Australian governmental positions and therefore Japanese arguments were dismissed. That is, while the Australian newspapers carried substantial amounts of information to both sides of the whaling conflict in their news articles, they might have given readers the impression that Japanese arguments were rebutted by the Australian government.

Japanese newspapers, on the other hand, seem to have employed a frame that could 'eliminate voices and weaken arguments' (Tankard, 2003: 96) of the opposing side. By presenting virtually no arguments from the anti-whaling side, the news articles might have prevented their readers from understanding positions of the anti-whaling side. The readers, as a result, possibly came to comprehend the view of only the Japanese government.

In addition, the credibility of Japan's science acknowledged in the news articles also backs the newspapers' adhesion to their domestic government. Australian newspapers and Japanese newspapers hold polarised views on the

rationale of Japan's scientific arguments on whale populations and research whaling, which were to a large extent the copy of their governments. Here, as noted in the previous finding that journalists tend to attach credibility to the side they believe to be right or they prefer when reporting controversial science (Weingart et al., 2000; Antilla, 2005), both nations' newspapers attached Japan's research whaling and the revised management scheme with different degrees of scientific credibility following their views, without presenting supportive information of their judgement on Japan's scientific arguments. This tendency was observed even in the articles of the *Australian* and the *Asahi Shimbun*, both of which maintained in their editorial articles that science should be the key when approaching the whaling conflict. As a result, their coverage appeared to support their domestic governmental positions on Japan's science.

### **3-3. Overall Discussion**

In 2-2 of this paper, I stated a research question for this study: Do the differences between the concerned Western and non-Western nations in news coverage of a transnational environmental conflict reflect the differences in the socio-cultural background of the conflict in the way described in previous literatures? In order to answer this question, I designed a case study that comparatively analysed the press coverage of the whaling conflict between Australia and Japan using three Australian newspapers and two Japanese newspapers, and explored the differences in news value of the whaling conflict, acknowledged news sources and story lines among them. The revealed differences were discussed in light of previous literatures of environment and media, in order to examine the degree to which the previous theories can account for the differences. It was shown while



some previous theories of environment and media could explain the differences in press coverage of the whaling conflict between Australian and Japanese newspapers, others failed to account for not only the differences between Australian and Japanese papers but also the differences among the newspapers in the same nation.

The analysis of fluctuation in the number of articles about the whaling conflict between 2001 and 2006 revealed that despite Downs (1973) observing that domestic environmental events tend to more stably command media attention, the number of articles rose and fell. It was noticeable that while the examined Australian newspapers increased the amount of their coverage of the whaling conflict over the period, particularly in 2005 when the tension between Australia and Japan was heightened in the wake of Japan's proposal to expand its research whaling in the Southern Ocean, the examined Japanese newspapers gradually decreased the number of articles about whaling. Another striking contrast between Australian and Japanese newspapers was that while the Australian newspapers published substantial numbers of articles on the anti-whaling protest action during Japan's research whaling in the Southern Ocean, only one news article was published on the same topic by the two Japanese newspapers. These observations indicated that previous findings that conflicts are highly valued in environmental reporting (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993; Anderson, 1997) were supported by Australian newspapers but not by Japanese newspapers. At the same time, it was also observed that only the *Herald Sun* – the only tabloid among all the examined newspapers in the case study – published larger number of articles on the anti-whaling environmental action than IWC57, suggesting that the news value of official environmental events and visually attractive environmental events were

differently appreciated by broadsheet and tabloid.

Analysis of the diversity of quoted news sources showed that in both Australian and Japanese newspaper coverage hegemony of elite sources (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993; Miller and Riechert, 2000) was observed, and therefore decreasing credibility of official sources in environmental reporting (Cracknell, 1993) was not supported. Western environmental NGOs appeared to have attracted substantial attention from the Australian newspapers reporting anti-whaling protest actions, and otherwise they were largely dominated by official sources. Therefore, the view that environmental NGOs' credibility as news sources is decreasing (Rowell, 1996; Farrow, 2000) was not fully supported by the coverage of Australian newspapers. As for the small attention Japanese newspapers paid to them, this may be explained because the NGOs are not either socially powerful or well-known in Japan, reflecting the difference in 'cultural capital' (Anderson, 1997, 2003)

The quantitative content analysis of the articles' coverage of the Australian and Japanese governmental positions revealed that Australian newspapers generally carried a larger number of positions than Japanese newspapers. It was striking that Australian newspapers gave a similar amount of coverage to both Australian and Japanese governmental positions, though Japanese newspapers carried a very small number of preferred Australian positions. In addition, political and scientific aspects, which are reported to be rarely focussed in environmental news (Hannigan, 2006), were intensively covered by the articles on IWC57 in all the examined newspapers, particularly both Australian and Japanese broadsheets. Contrarily, news articles on anti-whaling environmental action during JARPA II appeared to have given far smaller coverage to those positions.

The qualitative discourse analysis revealed that while the suspicion of Australian newspapers and their nation's political elites about Japan's whaling policy was noticeably reflected in the news reports by the use of emotive languages, Japanese newspapers did not show their scepticism of the anti-whaling nations' positions in their news reports in such an explicit way but in an implicit way. That is, journalists' tendency towards the use of the controversy and conflict frame (Hannigan, 2006) was observed only in the articles of Australian newspapers but not in the articles of Japanese newspapers, while both nations' newspapers saw the whaling conflict as a harsh battle over whaling. Journalists' bias towards the side they prefer when reporting controversial scientific topics (Weingart et al., 2000; Antilla, 2005) was observed in both nations' newspapers. Furthermore, the result of the analyses of diversity of quoted news sources and covered governmental positions and the result of qualitative discourse analysis demonstrated that both Australian and Japanese showed strong orientation towards their own nation's governmental positions.

To sum up, it is shown from the case study that the difference between Australia and Japan in the socio-cultural perception of the whaling conflict was clearly reflected in the difference in the view of their domestic newspapers on the conflict. At the same time, however, the views of the examined Australian and Japanese newspapers on the whaling conflict and Japan's positions were reflected in their news coverage in largely different ways. While their news coverage appeared to share some features, such as strong orientation towards official sources/events and positive framing of the arguments they preferred, the Australian newspapers' coverage reflected their comprehension of the whaling conflict in a way that was more explicit and more consistent with previous

findings than the Japanese newspapers' coverage. This suggests that news reporting of environmental conflicts in non-Western society is, at least in the way the socio-cultural background of the conflicts is reflected in their news coverage, different from that in Western society.

## CONCLUSION

The results of the case study have revealed that internal and external factors concerning news production of environmental conflicts, such as socio-cultural perceptions of the conflicts, news companies' views on the issues and organisational conventions of the news media, interact in different ways in Western and non-Western nations, and therefore generate diversity in news coverage. They also suggest that while some of the previous theories of environment and media – those which are based on studies conducted in Western society – agree with environmental reporting in non-Western society, others do not.

It is important to note that the research period of the case study is in total, just four months, and the number of articles analysed is limited. Such a small size of samples of the analysis would not be large enough to detect the statistically significant differences or to explore the overall differences in coverage of the whaling conflict across newspapers in Australia and Japan. However, the method employed in the case study is the combined method of quantitative and qualitative approaches, both of which are understood to complement the methodological weakness of the other and thus are able to maximise the credibility and efficiency of the analysis when employed simultaneously. Furthermore, the analysis is conducted across language barriers between English and Japanese, which has thus far rarely been done due to lack of the competent bilingual researchers. While we should realise that such analysis still raises issues when the researcher is analysing the discourse of texts that herself/himself has translated, the results of the present study have demonstrated substantial potential of the bilingual study of

environmental news. Given these points, the present study remains significant as long as the results are interpreted with careful consideration of the limitation of the small sample size and other issues related to translation.

When considering the further direction of this project, it seems worthwhile to remember that the case study has revealed the diversity of news coverage on the whaling issue between the news events, namely IWC57 and the anti-whaling protest action during JARPA II, in the results of quantitative analyses of news values, news sources and the amount of carried governmental positions. This finding suggests that it is important to pay close attention to the characteristics of each news event when examining news coverage of environmental issues. As for IWC57 and anti-whaling protest action, they were distinct in terms of political significance, main players, visibility and public awareness, and these differences may well have caused the news to take different shapes. Therefore, we should avoid overly generalising a wide variety of news events into a single unified environmental conflict even when those events are part of the single conflict. Following this view, further analysis should deal with these two events individually at a deeper level.

In addition to the diversity of news events, it is suggested that the diversity of newspapers in the same nation also needs further investigation. For example, while the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Herald Sun* both appear to have a view that is firmly against whaling, such a view is not similarly reflected in the degree of the use of emotive language. The analysis of news values and the quantitative content analysis also gave largely different results to the examined Australian broadsheets (the *Australian* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*) and the examined Australian tabloid (the *Herald Sun*). According to these observations, more

attention should be paid to the characteristics of each individual newspaper in further research.

Moreover, a future study might need to examine other forms of communication media. The present study has focussed on the newspaper as a mainstream news medium between the public and the players in the whaling conflict. This does not mean, of course, that a wide variety of media other than the newspaper do not play a critical role in the conflict. Television, for example, with its focus on visuals, has beyond doubt been significantly contributing to the social construction and maintenance of an anti- or pro-whaling norm in concerned nations of the whaling conflict, and environmental NGOs today actively send their messages out directly to the public via their websites and public relations magazines. Thus, the questions – who presents what sorts of information through which medium – will definitely remain crucial to the comprehension of the communication circuit about the whaling conflict and to the comparative analysis of those circuits among the concerned nations.

In addition to this, the influence of interaction between political elites and the news media on political decision-making should be more closely investigated. The case study of the present project has shown a noticeable correlation between the governmental positions on the whaling conflict and their news coverage, indicating strong ties between political elites and news workers. On the other hand, however, it was beyond the scope of the present study to investigate how these interactions function in the process of decision-making of political elites. Davis (2003b) points out, while media scholars have conventionally paid enormous attention to the way the political elites are represented in the news, they have rarely explored how the news media function as an institutional setting of

decision-making by mediating the communication between/among political elites. The further analysis, following these view, should look at this point.

Finally, I conclude that the present study has indicated the necessity and significance of such cross-border studies of news reporting of transnational environmental conflicts. Human beings, as a species, are facing the grim consequences of environmental mismanagement. They need to ensure the conservation of animal and plant species, while simultaneously managing the sustainable use of those species as natural resources for their own survival. Accomplishing these somewhat contrasting tasks, regrettably, is not always easy because the management of particular natural resources raises controversy and conflict between nations with differing political-economic interests and cultural traditions. The whaling conflict is just one example of such controversy. The news media arguably have potential to resolve such transnational conflicts by facilitating the mutual understanding between contestants. Admittedly, the present study has shown that news coverage of the whaling conflict in Australia and Japan does not seem to push these nations towards reconciliation. However, the study has successfully highlighted some aspects in which the news media may improve their reporting and thus mutual understanding. That is, similar types of cross-border studies will possibly give us more helpful insights into appropriate styles of news reporting of environmental conflicts across boundaries of cultures and societies. Given the growing concern about the global environment and the increasing number of transnational environmental conflicts, the present study has revealed the urgency of such further inquiry.



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## APPENDIX

### ***Asahi Shimbun*, The. 'A prerequisite proposal for the resumption of commercial whaling rejected at IWC annual conference', 22 June 2005: 12.**

At the annual conference of the International Whaling Commission (IWC), on the 21st [June], Japan made a proposal to adopt the Revised Management Scheme (RMS) that would pave the way for a resumption of commercial whaling, which was rejected in a 23-29 vote, with five countries abstaining. While a resolution to continue taking appropriate steps towards completion of the RMS at the annual conference this year was unanimously adopted at the annual conference last year, the resumption of commercial whaling has not been realised as the opposition of anti-whaling nations was strong.

The RMS calculates whaling quota based on scientific research. It enables whaling, reinforcing a system of monitoring and managing compliance with the quota at the scene of whaling. It has been discussed for more than ten years, but anti-whaling nations have been against its adoption.

[This is a translation from the original Japanese edition by the author, which is below presented.]

「商業捕鯨の再開、前提提案を否決 IWC年次総会」

国際捕鯨委員会 (IWC) の年次総会で21日、日本が商業捕鯨再開の前提となる「改訂管理制度」(RMS) の採用を求める提案をし、賛成23、反対29、棄権5で否決された。昨年の総会で、今総会でRMS完成に向けた結論を出す努力を続けるとの決議案が全会一致で採択されていたが、反捕鯨国の反発は強く、商業捕鯨の再開は実現しなかった。

RMSは、科学的調査をもとに捕獲頭数を算出。捕鯨を可能にする代わりに、頭数などが現場で守られているか監視や取り締まり体制を強化する仕組み。10年以上かけて議論されてきたが、反捕鯨国が反対してきた。

### ***Asahi Shimbun*, The. 'Japan's whaling plans: A compromise is clearly the only solution', 27 June 2005: 3.**

This year's annual meeting of the International Whaling Commission (IWC) ended last week in usual acrimony. The meeting produced no progress toward a cease-fire in the long-running war between countries that want to hunt whales, including Japan and Norway, and those opposed to the practice, such as Britain and the United States.

The biggest topic during the week of heated debates in Ulsan, South Korea, was Japan's plan to expand its scientific whaling program. Japan announced it will double its annual catch of minke whales from 400 or so and will also hunt a small number of humpback and fin whales under the research program.

The IWC meeting adopted an Australia-sponsored resolution urging Japan to stop killing the whales for research purposes.

But each government is allowed to make its own decisions on scientific whaling under international rules. And despite the resolution, Tokyo plans to take the announced steps to expand the program this autumn.

The meat of the whales caught under the program is sold to cover research costs. Indeed, this system supports the small number of restaurants in Japan specializing in whale cuisine and has been harshly criticized as commercial whaling in disguise.

The Fisheries Agency says the planned expansion of scientific whaling is necessary to obtain accurate data about changes in the marine ecosystem. But the scale seems too large for that purpose. Norway, for example, catches just around 800 minke whales a year in its coastal whaling.

If the current situation is examined in a cool-headed manner, the pro-whaling camp, which claims there are some abundant species of whales, appears to have a stronger case. The IWC's panel of scientists estimated in 1990 that there are 760,000 minke whales in the Antarctic Ocean, concluding that controlled commercial whaling would not endanger this species.

But the panel's assessment has not led to an end to the 1986 moratorium on commercial whaling because opponents say there is no reliable system to monitor catches and ensure compliance.

The anti-whalers are determined to maintain the total ban on commercial whaling, regardless of the species or numbers involved, but their argument is not reasonable enough to win support from most of the world.

That does not mean, however, that Japan's case is widely supported. The fact that several kinds of whales are abundant does not justify the restarting of commercial whaling, not at least for the anti-whaling countries. Japan wants to hunt whales in places like the Antarctic Ocean. But there

are now many people in the world who do not want whales killed, whether they are endangered or not. Japan should pay attention to this sentiment, at least concerning whaling on the high seas.

The only realistic formula potentially acceptable for both camps would be to ban commercial whaling on the high seas and limit catches to coastal whaling. The anti-whaling nations should allow each country to make whaling decisions in their economic waters.

Japan has the right to preserve its tradition of coastal whaling. But it would be better advised to refrain from going as far as the Antarctic Ocean to hunt whales.

Unless both camps make mutual concessions, there will never be a solution to the dispute. The only thing either side can now do is to try to bulldoze their proposals through the committee and hope to win the three-quarters of votes needed to make any significant policy change at the IWC. This is unlikely to happen because both camps are recruiting allies in a spirited campaign to increase their support base within the IWC.

The IWC is now almost equally divided between pro-whaling and anti-whaling states. It is no longer rare for an inland country to join the commission as a new member.

The dispute at the IWC has reached a hopeless impasse. One idea worth consideration is to shift the venue to other forums, like the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization or the summit of the Group of Eight.

Constructive discussions on this issue are needed to calmly review the extreme stances both parties have presented at IWC meetings.

### ***Australian, The. 'Australia harpoons Japan in whale vote', 22 June 2005: 1.***

AUSTRALIA has claimed victory in this year's battle against the pro-whaling countries after an unexpectedly heavy defeat for a key Japanese proposal last night.

The whale conservation nations won a critical vote 29-23 on a Japanese motion that could have turned the International Whaling Commission towards an eventual return to commercial whale hunting.

Australian Environment Minister Ian Campbell said he believed the whaling group was too deeply divided after last night's defeat to regroup at the IWC conference in Ulsan, South Korea.

"It's a really historic victory for whale conservation," said Senator Campbell, who had come to the IWC conference at Ulsan fearing Australia and the conservation camp were lagging several votes behind the pro-whalers.

"It could have easily gone the other way, but this sends a very strong message to those who seek to reopen the slaughter of whales.

"And tomorrow we will send Japan a strong message on the unacceptability of scientific whaling."

Senator Campbell will today introduce a non-binding motion condemning Japan's plans to more than double its scientific catch in the Antarctic from this summer.

The Japanese proposal to boost their scientific catch of minke whales up to 935 a year and to begin hunting the vulnerable fin and humpback whales provoked widespread outrage and, some observers believe, may have cost the Japanese vital votes.

Today's vote is also certain to go against Japan and Iceland, which operates a small scientific program, but will not stop them. Hunting for research purposes is exempted by the IWC charter from the commercial whaling moratorium.

But last night's vote was a serious blow to the whaling camp's hopes of laying the foundations for a resumption of commercial whaling, which was halted in 1986 for IWC members except Norway, which refuses to acknowledge the moratorium.

Japan was caught short yesterday by the failure of several pro-whaling delegations to arrive on time for last night's vote on its proposal. It also suffered a withdrawal of support from China and South Korea.

Those key countries abstained, along with three others, rather than support Japan's hard-line version of a resource management scheme, which would have established rules and procedures for commercial whaling, when a decision was taken to resume.

"This vote exposed the countries whose only mandate at the IWC is to vote with Japan, along with Russia, Norway and Iceland," said Nicola Beynon of Humane Society International.

### ***Australian, The. 'Plenty of nonsense spouted on whales', 23 June 2005: 12.***

AUSTRALIA and its anti-whaling allies have scored a handsome victory at the International Whaling Commission conference in South Korea. On Tuesday, the IWC voted down Japan's proposal for a resumption of commercial whaling and yesterday Australia succeeded in pushing



through a motion calling upon Japan to abandon its largely bogus annual "scientific" cull of whales. That vote, however, has purely moral force, and there is no reason to believe it will deter Japan from its plan to increase from 440 to 935 the number of whales it kills to feed the curiosity of its scientists and the appetites of its diners.

The IWC was conceived in 1946 as a mechanism for the preservation of whales and the orderly development of the whaling industry. It ceased being that in the 1980s, following an international campaign by Greenpeace to raise awareness of the dwindling numbers of some whale species. Since the moratorium on commercial whale-hunting, announced in 1986, the annual IWC meeting has become little more than an occasion for the enemies of whaling and its supporters to lob political grenades at each other. At its worst and most venal, the conference degenerates into a process of conscripting landlocked nations, with no history or interest in whaling, on to one or the other side, courtesy of various inducements.

Japan and its allies claim whale stocks have recovered sufficiently for an annual commercial cull, but the science on that is unclear. Nor is it obvious that, if whaling were to resume, it could be successfully restricted to those species that do exist in abundance. Japan has done nothing to clarify these issues with its obduracy and pseudo-science, which have only increased the moral legitimacy of its opponents. But if we look at things from Japan's point of view, and avoid woolly-minded anthropomorphism, we will understand why there is justified angst about a multinational organisation that is telling them what they can and cannot eat.

Our culture sees whales as magnificent and spiritual. Other cultures feel that way about cows, and we would not be amused if they captured the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation and banned beef. Federal Environment Minister Ian Campbell has done well to fend off the whalers, but this should be an argument about properly regulated sustainability, conducted in scientific terms. The Japanese have isolated themselves through their tactics, but when they query when the moratorium on whaling became a fatwa, they have a point.

#### ***Herald Sun, The. 'Japan fails in whaling boost bid', 22 June 2005: 4.***

JAPAN has failed in its bid at the International Whaling Commission to push through a document aimed at resuming commercial whaling.

Anti-whaling nations labelled Japan's latest push an insult.

Yesterday's bid, which needed a 75 per cent majority to win, was voted down 29 votes to 23 at the commission's meeting in Ulsan, South Korea.

It failed even to secure the simple majority of the 66-member bloc that would have allowed it to claim a moral victory.

The commission has for more than a decade been working to agree on a system to manage whaling should a 19-year suspension be lifted.

But while Japan said it considered its plan a reasonable compromise, anti-whaling nations -- led by Australia and New Zealand -- said the proposal fell well short of something they would ever approve.

Australian Environment Minister Senator Ian Campbell described the vote as a historic victory.

"It's a really historic victory for whale conservation, this has been a historic day," he said.

"We did as a world look into the abyss of going back into the dark ages of commercial whaling and we've come back from that."

A member of the Japanese delegation, who asked not to be named, said he was disappointed by the vote.

"Obviously we're very disappointed about this," he said.

"We had hoped the resolution would at least have secured a majority vote and gone some way towards bringing this organisation back towards the role that it was meant to do -- that is managing commercial whaling on a sustainable basis."

Japan kills about 650 whales annually under its so-called scientific program, which is allowed despite the moratorium on commercial catches.

It is pushing for a resumption of full-scale commercial catches, saying that depleted whale stocks have sufficiently recovered since the 1986 ban came into force.

The head of the Japanese delegation, Joji Morishita, said he considered the plan a decent compromise and laid out a strict management system for commercial whaling.

But conservationists said the Japanese proposal went nowhere near far enough in meeting their concerns.

"What is offered up here is an insult," New Zealand Conservation Minister Chris Carter said before the vote.

"It represents a return to the dirty deals of the past. This is completely unacceptable." Adopting the plan, he said "would be the most retrograde step imaginable".

Mr Morishita accused the anti-catch lobby of trying to bring down the commission. "We are not talking about uncontrolled whaling and this will give us controlled, monitored whaling within a limited harvesting quota . . . that's a reasonable request," he said.

### ***Herald Sun, The. 'Round one, the whales', 23 June 2005: 19.***

SO, Japan has failed in its bid to resume commercial whaling.

But this may be a hollow victory if the Australian Government, which has led the majority anti-whaling push at the IWC meeting in South Korea this week, fails to ensure that whaling is stopped in our shared Asia Pacific waters.

For most Australians, killing a whale species returning from the edge of extinction purely to harness profits for a niche meat trade is deplorable.

In recent years, Japan has continued to catch hundreds of whales for eating using the excuse of research.

This is tolerated under a loophole that lets nations conduct self-regulated scientific catches outside the IWC regime. And as a result, Japan is carrying on a huge whaling industry by stealth.

The price of whale in Japan has slumped in recent years as the meat becomes more freely available -- falling from \$15 for 0.45kg in 1999 to \$12 for 0.45kg in 2004.

Last year, Japan's whaling industry put 20 per cent of its 4000tonne haul into frozen surplus.

Today in Japan, there is a concerted effort to reintroduce whale to commercial menus. This includes a \$6.4 million Government campaign to promote whale meat to schoolchildren.

And at this week's IWC meeting Japan unveiled a plan to almost double its "scientific" whaling of Antarctic minke whales from 440 to more than 850 a year.

Australia's Environment Minister, Ian Campbell, said this week that conservation efforts in the Pacific were a great way to build an ecologically and economically sustainable future.

But Japan has already indicated it will continue to exploit its scientific research loophole.

Sadly, the fight to save the whale degenerated into something of a game of number-crunching, as Japan convinced tiny Pacific nations to support its expanded whaling plans.

Some of these nations, such as Nauru, had never been members of the IWC before, and their 11th-hour inclusion was described by Mr Campbell as suspicious.

Yet as governments crunch numbers over economic and environmental policies, there have been signs of solutions between local South Koreans and NGOs.

Greenpeace activists set up a whale embassy two months ago on the site of a planned whale meat processing factory to underline global opposition to commercial whaling.

And they held a "virtual march", allowing more than 50,000 people from 122 countries to send photographs of themselves with a banner protesting about the fate of the world's dwindling population of whales.

The images were then projected on to the building where the meeting was held.

In response, South Korea said it would not proceed with a proposed new whale meat processing factory.

The small win is evidence that it takes more than diplomatic number crunching at the government level to change deeply-entrenched cultural practices.

Ian Campbell should be applauded for taking a hard line in Ulsan this week.

But now the IWC has clearly rejected Japan's push for legitimised commercial whaling, the Australian Government and other anti-whaling nations such as New Zealand should take concrete steps to ensure animals are actually protected into the future.

At present, Japan can simply inform the IWC of its scientific whaling program, meaning it will continue whaling whether the IWC likes it or not.

The Howard Government should consider closing Australia's ports to Japanese fishing vessels, and refuse to give fishing licenses to Japanese companies known to be involved in whaling.

An Australian surveillance boat should also be sent to the Antarctic to monitor Japan's whaling activities.

The Howard Government has shown that it can position itself as a force for environmental protection in the Asia Pacific region. Now it's time to follow through with action.

### ***Sydney Morning Herald. 'Japan's whaling ambitions harpooned', The, 22 June 2005: 6.***

Conservation nations claimed an emphatic victory over Japan's whaling ambitions last night when

its proposal for a resumption of commercial whaling was soundly beaten.

The plan, which would have lifted the 18-year-old moratorium on commercial whaling, scrapped whale sanctuaries and made scientific whaling easier, fell far short of success in the International Whaling Commission meeting in Ulsan.

Needing a three-quarters majority to succeed, it failed to even win half the votes, with 29 votes recorded against it and only 23 in support, all of them acolytes of Japan.

The Environment Minister, Ian Campbell, said Australia and other anti-whaling nations had wanted to send a strong message to Japan that its whaling was opposed, and this had happened.

"We were seriously on the edge of an abyss, with the chance of seeing the world step over the edge towards commercial whaling. This is a great result for all the Australians who campaigned against it," he said.

Senator Campbell told the meeting that part of the rejected plan meant that whale products taken by Japan could be sold as animal feed. "It's killing whales to feed cats and dogs," he said.

Japan's proposal failed to gain even the support of middle-minded countries which want to see the commission move towards resolving a decade-old debate on a system to manage any commercial whaling if it was resumed, known as the Revised Management Scheme.

Joji Morishita, the Japanese Government's deputy commissioner, said the commission needed a management measure in place after a long period without one, and Japan's was the best solution.

But New Zealand's conservation minister, Chris Carter, said Japan's plan opened up the commission to the dirty deals of the past when the organisation was known as a whalers' club.

"What is offered up here is an insult that would cause the IWC to be further discredited," he said. "We cannot vote for the plan on offer here. We cannot accept a return to what is pretty much the status quo - a situation of negligence that caused whale populations to collapse and led to the adoption of the moratorium."

The outcome has no effect on Japan's plans to escalate its Antarctic scientific whaling hunt, to take 935 minke whales, 50 humpbacks and 50 fins. Under whaling commission rules, Japan issues its own research permit.

Senator Campbell said he was bitterly disappointed that after lengthy negotiations in which the Solomon Islands government had promised to abstain from a vote to resume commercial whaling, the Solomons had voted with Japan.

But he said it was terrific that the Kiribati Government had decided to abstain.

Its deputy commissioner, Tessie Lambourne, told the meeting that as a new member, Kiribati needed to have more time to make such decisions.

### ***Sydney Morning Herald, The. 'Saving the whale again', 22 June 2005: 10.***

It is round one to the whales at that acrimonious annual showdown between conservationists and the whaling lobby at the International Whaling Commission. But there is little cause for celebration. Japan's failure to swing an early majority vote behind the pro-whaling camp at this week's commission meeting in Ulsan, South Korea, is not a victory for the whales - it is merely another reprieve.

It has been almost two decades since the commission imposed a global moratorium on commercial whaling, and the heartening recovery of even the most endangered whale species is clearly visible off Australia's coastline. But the whale was never definitively saved. Nor did the commission intend to do so. Its original 1946 mandate was to assist the orderly development of the whaling industry by managing whale stocks. The moratorium was imposed because the industry was in danger of killing itself off as global whale numbers collapsed - not because whales are highly intelligent wild creatures and should never again be subject to the cruelty of slaughter. This has always meant a case could be made for tightly managed whaling once populations recovered. And this is exactly the campaign being waged by the pro-whaling lobby led by Japan, Norway and Iceland.

The pro-whalers are upping the ante, locking Australia and other pro-conservation nations such as New Zealand, Britain and the United States, into a perpetual diplomatic battle inside the commission just to keep the moratorium in place. It is a dirty numbers game. In recent years Japan has stacked the commission with a host of impoverished nations with no historical link to whaling. Tokyo has traded what is euphemistically termed fisheries aid for votes in favour of the resumption of commercial whaling. Landlocked Benin and Mongolia, for example, are now unlikely champions of commercial whaling. But Japan is not the first nation to use aid to politicise or compromise an international body. An international system must offer every sovereign nation a vote, no matter how small. It is inherently vulnerable to the influence of the strong and rich over

the small and poor. Criticising Japan's tactics, however, will only end in a slanging match. Less than a third of the world's nations are represented on the commission. It is incumbent on Australia and the conservationist bloc to recruit more concerned nations to their cause.

The second prong of Japan's strategy is to do whatever it wants anyway. Using a commission loophole, Japan intends to increase its annual scientific kill to 1000, including the endangered fin and humpback whales. Australia, too, must continue to pursue alternative strategies. It must keep pushing to shift the commission's mandate away from whaling and towards conservation. But it must also continue to seek permanent protection for whales in a South Pacific sanctuary or through alternative mechanisms, such as the International Court of Justice or the United Nations Convention on Migratory Species. In the 1980s, the Save the Whale campaign became the icon of the global environmental movement. Many wrongly assume the battle was won - it has a long way to go.

***Yomiuri Shimbun*, The. 'Time to reconsider IWC ties', 20 June 2003: 3.**

The annual meeting of the International Whaling Commission in Berlin ended Thursday, with Japan tasting the bitterness of defeat.

Japan's request to be allowed to resume commercial whaling was dismissed out of hand. Only moves by antiwhaling nations were considered, as shown by the adoption of a resolution that apparently was intended to turn the IWC into an organization that would solely prohibit whaling.

The IWC, which was established 55 years ago to ensure the orderly utilization of whales, is not functioning properly. The time has come for Japan to reconsider its relationship with the IWC.

The International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling, which has served as the basis for the IWC's establishment, states that the purpose of the convention is to conserve whale stocks and to help the whaling industry develop.

The resolution in question--called the "Berlin Initiative"--was approved by a 25-20 vote with such antiwhaling nations as the United States and Britain leading the pack.

However, the resolution says the purpose of the convention lies in the conservation of whales, an interpretation completely different from the original one.

To protect whales further, antiwhaling nations voted to form a conservation committee within the IWC. They also plan to come up with an action plan for adoption by the IWC to reinforce across-the-board the conservation activities. The character of the IWC is undergoing fundamental changes.

The IWC meeting also adopted a resolution calling on Japan to suspend "whaling for scientific research," conducted in such regions as the Antarctic Ocean. Antiwhaling nations claim that these whales are being caught for "commercial purposes."

Japan catches about 400 minke whales in the Antarctic Ocean annually.

As there have been no changes in the relevant stipulation in the convention and the resolution has no binding power, Japan said it would continue scientific whaling.

Nevertheless, it was a development that made Japan realize that the noose around the whaling industry was being tightened. Japan's arguments were brushed aside.

Japan asked that it be allowed to catch 300 whales a year in waters near Japan, so as to protect its long-standing tradition of whaling and dietary culture. Also, in an effort to blunt the pressure of environmental groups on pro-whaling nations, Japan also proposed that voting on Japan's request be made through a secret ballot. Both these proposals were turned down.

At present, there are 760,000 minke whales in the Antarctic Ocean. If commercial whaling was resumed under proper management, there would be no problem in preserving the whales. Yet antiwhaling nations turned a deaf ear to Japan's assertions in connection with its scientific research.

The developments at this year's meeting also have dismayed other pro-whaling nations.

Japan contributes 18 million yen annually to the IWC, about 8.6 percent of the body's budget and the largest contribution among IWC members.

In this country, there are mounting calls that Japan should take drastic action, such as cutting, or even suspending, its contribution.

Japan should make an effort to try to prevent the IWC from becoming a mere conservation organization by taking strong measures in cooperation with other pro-whaling nations.

***Yomiuri Shimbun*, The. 'IWC conference voted down the proposal for the resumption of commercial whaling, with abstention of five nations including**

### **China and South Korea', 22 June 2005: 9.**

The annual conference of the International Whaling Commission (IWC), on the 21st [June], took a vote on Japan's proposal seeking the introduction of the Revised Management Scheme (RMS) and the resumption of commercial whaling, which was rejected in a 23-29 vote. Five countries including China and South Korea abstained.

The RMS is a secure management system of the whale population which scientifically calculates whaling quota based on the whale stock. It is deemed to be essential if commercial whaling, which has been suspended since 1986, is to be resumed.

On the other hand, an anti-whaling country, Australia, proposed a resolution calling for Japan to withdraw its plan to reopen research whaling in the Southern Ocean. The resolution will be adopted on the 22nd [June].

Research whaling is a right of [the IWC] nations, and the resolution will not have binding force if it is adopted.

[This is a translation from the original Japanese edition by the author, which is below presented.]

「IWC総会 商業捕鯨再開案を否決 中・韓など5か国は棄権」

国際捕鯨委員会(IWC)の年次総会は2日目の21日、改定管理制度(RMS)の導入と商業捕鯨の再開を求める内容の日本提案が採決され、賛成23、否決29で否決された。中国や韓国など5か国は棄権した。

RMSは、クジラの資源量から捕獲枠を科学的に算出し、安定的にクジラの頭数を管理する制度。1986年(日本は88年)から中断している商業捕鯨を再開するには、導入が不可欠とされる。

一方、反捕鯨国のオーストラリアは日本に対して、南極海での調査捕鯨再開計画を撤回するよう求める決議案を提出、22日にも採決される見通しとなった。

調査捕鯨は各国の権利で、決議が採択されても拘束力はない。